

Manuscript Number: JASC18-134R2

Title: Integrated Stable Isotopic and Radiocarbon Analyses of Neolithic and Bronze Age Hunter-Gatherers from the Little Sea and Upper Lena Micro-Regions, Cis-Baikal, Siberia

Article Type: Research Paper

Keywords: Lake Baikal, Hunter-gatherers, Middle Holocene, Diet, Stable Isotopes, Radiocarbon dating

Corresponding Author: Mrs. J. Alyssa White, MSc

Corresponding Author's Institution: University of Oxford

First Author: J. Alyssa White, MSc

Order of Authors: J. Alyssa White, MSc; Rick J Schulting, PhD; Andrew Lythe, MSc; Peter Hommel, PhD; Christopher Bronk Ramsey, PhD; Vyacheslav Moiseyev; Valeri Khartanovich; Andrzej W Weber, PhD

**Abstract:** The Lake Baikal region of southern Siberia has a rich mortuary record that has provided the most comprehensive isotopic database for palaeodietary studies of north-temperate hunter-gatherers in the world, permitting more detailed reconstructions and finer-grained research questions than are usually possible. Building on previous work, this study contributes new  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ , and AMS radiocarbon dating results from the cemeteries of Verkholsk ( $n = 44$ ) in the Upper Lena River micro-region and Ulan-Khada ( $n = 19$ ) in the Little Sea micro-region. Our results reveal that the Late Neolithic (LN, 5570-4600 cal BP) individuals at Verkholsk exhibit higher  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values than in the Early Bronze Age (EBA, 4600-3700 cal BP), suggesting a shift to a more terrestrial diet, possibly in response to climate-induced environmental changes. In addition, EBA individuals at Verkholsk differ in both  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  from those at the nearby site of Obkhai, suggesting territorial divisions at a surprisingly small scale, although there is a diachronic component that needs to be considered, highlighting the need for additional work on freshwater reservoir corrections for the Upper Lena micro-region. The Ulan-Khada EBA results are consistent with the 'Game-Fish' and 'Game-Fish-Seal' dietary patterns previously identified in the Little Sea micro-region. The now substantial Little Sea micro-region EBA sample size allow for more subtle differences in diet to be identified, namely that EBA females with Game-Fish-Seal diets for the whole of the Little Sea sample display significantly lower mean  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values than their male counterparts, providing some of the first evidence for sex-based dietary distinctions in Lake Baikal.

A small number of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and/or  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  outliers were identified at both Verkholsk and Ulan-Khada that may support previous suggestions of individual mobility between the Upper Lena and Little Sea micro-regions. Exploratory use of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  isotopes in bone collagen offers a novel line of support for this scenario, confirming a number of -identified independently outliers.





J. Alyssa White

University of Oxford  
Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art  
School of Archaeology  
Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road  
Oxford OX1 3QY  
UK

07 January 2020

Marcos Martín-Torres, PhD, Editor  
Journal of Archaeological Science  
Elsevier Editorial Services  
email: [jas@elsevier.com](mailto:jas@elsevier.com)

Dear Dr. Martín-Torres,

Thank you for considering our manuscript for publication once more, for the granting our extension requests, and for the constructive feedback provided by the editors and reviewer. We are pleased to re-submit our edited manuscript and response to reviewers for consideration to the *Journal of Archaeological Science*.

Thank you for your consideration in this new year. We look forward to your response.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "J. Alyssa White". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first letter 'J' being particularly large and stylized.

J. Alyssa White, M.Sc.

***Highlights for***

**Integrated Stable Isotopic and Radiocarbon Analyses of Neolithic and Bronze Age Hunter-Gatherers from the Little Sea and Upper Lena Micro- Regions, Cis-Baikal, Siberia**

J. Alyssa White<sup>a</sup>

**Corresponding Author**

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: julia.white@arch.ox.ac.uk

Rick J. Schulting<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: rick.schulting@arch.ox.ac.uk

Andrew Lythe<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: andrew.lythe@mail.mcgill.ca

Peter Hommel<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: peter.hommel@arch.ox.ac.uk

Christopher Bronk Ramsey<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: christopher.ramsey@rlaha.ox.ac.uk

Vyacheslav G. Moiseyev<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences, Universitetskaya Nab. 3, St. Petersburg, 199034, Russia  
Email: vmoiseyev@mail.ru

Valeri I. Khartanovich<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences, Universitetskaya Nab. 3, St. Petersburg, 199034, Russia  
Email: vkhartan@kunstkamera.ru

Andrzej W. Weber<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2E5  
Email: aweber@ualberta.ca

1. Isotopic and  $^{14}\text{C}$  analysis of a large sample of northern Eurasian hunter-gatherers
2. Inferred shift to more terrestrial diets from the LN to EBA at Verkholsk
3. Isotopic evidence for different foraging ranges along the Upper Lena
4. Isotopic evidence for individual mobility between the Cis-Baikal micro-regions
5. Novel use of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  on collagen to assess mobility

## **Integrated Stable Isotopic and Radiocarbon Analyses of Neolithic and Bronze Age Hunter-Gatherers from the Little Sea and Upper Lena Micro-Regions, Cis-Baikal, Siberia**

White et al.

### **Response to reviewers**

We thank the editors and Reviewer 1 for taking the time to provide feedback on our manuscript once more. We have edited the draft to improve the clarity of our language and to address the comments. Additionally, as one reviewer noted that it was difficult to see the pattern in one of our figures, we have replaced many of the figures with colour versions to be used in a digital version of the article. We respond to each of the reviewer comments below:

*Associate Editor Cheryl Makarewicz:*

The text needs quite a bit of woodshedding and clarification that would help draw out the significance and import of the work. There are many points that require further explication and many places in the text, which is quite sprawling in places, that could be substantially shortened, which would sharpen the text overall.

I also recommend removing the oxygen isotopic data unless the authors 1) more rigorously discuss how the extraction method of HCL (which alters d18O values during prep) might impact their data and 2) discuss the data they do have. While I understand that the data are pilot in nature, 20 measurements still have value in them, yet the data are only described in the results and the treated in a minimalistic paragraph that is most just a description of the results.

- Yes, it is understood that the HCl demineralisation will unpredictably alter the d18O measurements for the exchangeable O, though von Holstein et al. (2018) state that only 13-14% of the O is exchangeable, implicitly leaving >80% of the signal as non-exchangeable. Provided that the same reagent waters are used in the same lab (which they are in this case), the impact of the exchange should be more or less the same for all samples. We think that we do go into an appropriate level of detail regarding the interpretation of the d18O results, well beyond their simple description (please see sections 3.1, 3.2, 4.2, 5.2, 6, and 7 and SI 4). Specifically, the results: 1) statistically support the outliers identified independently using d13C and d15N, and 2) the difference in mean d18O between the two sites is of the same order as would be predicted by the environmental waters between the two locations (regardless of the absolute values of the humans). These are exactly the two questions we set out to address with the pilot study (discussed in section 3.1). We think these results are very convincing, and are unclear why there is such resistance to including them in the spirit in which they are intended, other than that they are not expected to work so well! Surely this is worth reporting?

### **Abstract**

Being confident in the results does not mean that the obtained oxygen isotope values are reliable or comparable to oxygen isotope values obtained in other studies. The preparation methods can profoundly impact the organic d18O values while still retaining 'expectations based on environmental baselines'

- We fully accept that there will be a degree of exchange with laboratory reagents and atmospheric H<sub>2</sub>O. Nevertheless, we argue that sufficient *in vivo* signal remains to be interpretable. This is what we mean by having confidence in the results. We expect the results to be reliable in the sense that similar *trends* (NOT absolute values) between the individuals in our study should be replicable in other labs. We explicitly say in section 3.1 that we do not expect the absolute values to be replicable in another lab – but this in itself does not invalidate their usefulness.

Given that the statistically significant difference in mean  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  between the two sites parallels the direction and extent of the difference obtained from waters in the two micro-regions, we would argue that the expectations based on environmental baselines is certainly relevant. How else can this explained if not the retention of a partial but nevertheless interpretable *in vivo* signal? The fact that the values are doubtless distorted to some unknown degree is not really relevant to our demonstration that it nevertheless ‘works’ both to clearly distinguish the two sites (despite all the complicating factors when dealing with oxygen isotopes in humans, even aside from problems with measurement), and to add support to the outliers first identified independently using other isotope systems.

the explanation of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  fractionation should be in the main body of the text,...as...

The abstract doesn't quite convey the work and needs a serious overhaul.

I would suggest rewording of the abstract in order to 1) highlight the significance of the work beyond 'it's the most comprehensive isotopic data set for north temperate HG's in the world. 2) indicate why understanding the dietary intake of the HG group is important (keeping in mind that most readers won't know right off the bat that this group pursues intensive seal hunting, so that should be worked in there), and 3) isotopic contributions. The abstract should also indicate the chronology (when exactly is your EBA? Your LN?), while indicating what makes the EBA different from the LN (in other words, define the EBA and LN) as this is the primary comparative grouping of your datasets. Along these lines, why is it important that your results reveal 'previously unrecognized patterns'?

- We have tried to concisely clarify the importance of the results in the context of Cis-Baikal, and in the wider field of hunter-gatherer studies. We feel that the importance of the previously unrecognised patterns is adequately addressed, referring specifically to: temporal shifts in diets potentially linked with environmental changes; territorial divisions at a small scale; and gendered aspects of diets.

Unclear what 'terrestrial divisions' means in the abstract and how the isotope data indicates this.

- The sentence in question referred to ‘territorial divisions’, not 'terrestrial divisions'. We would hope that the meaning of this is clear, as is the link with the stable isotope values showing spatial differences at two sites located a small distance apart.

Unclear exactly how 'the comparison highlights the need for additional work on freshwater reservoir corrects- this should be more specific

- The need for further work on the reservoir correction refers to the previous sentence noting a possible diachronic component to isotopic variability within the EBA. We have combined the two sentences to hopefully make this clearer.

Don't force the reader to guess, especially in the abstract: The UK EBA results are 'consistent with previously identified dietary patterns for the micro-region', but what is that consistency exactly?

- As is stated in the same sentence, the consistency refers to 'a division into distinct 'Game-Fish' and 'Game-Fish-Seal' diets.' The sentence has been reworded to hopefully make this clearer.

It is doubtful that the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  outliers reflect 'migrants'. This case is impossible to make in the absence of animal isotope data. It would be wiser to be more conservative here and not put this in the abstract but limit it to a brief treatment in the discussion.

- We disagree that the case is impossible to make, and there is abundant previously published faunal data from Baikal referred to in the text, but these data are not really necessary to identify outliers and to suggest that they represent individuals coming from elsewhere –such comparisons are commonly made in the literature in the absence of any specific faunal values (e.g., Müldner et al. 2011; Pollard et al. 2011). We compare the observed differences in the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  outliers explicitly with the central tendencies of human results found in other micro-regions, noting where the two differ and where they overlap. This will implicitly be underwritten by the faunal values – mainly differences in the degree and type of aquatic resources being exploited in those regions. This is all discussed in the text with what we feel are suitable caveats (please see sections 3.2, 3.3, and 6 and SI 2). We are not modelling specific diets, and so do not go into more detailed comparisons with the faunal data.

Simply writing 'exploratory use of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  of bone collagen indicates support for this scenario' without referencing the broad pattern and leaving it to 'further research is needed' is not sufficient.

- The  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  data support the existence of outliers independently identified using  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ , which we have highlighted. We have removed the reference to further research.

Line 89-90 Please define how intergroup dietary variation, land tenure (what is meant by LT in this context) and sharing (same comment), and temporal shifts in diet (redundant with dietary variation) and mobility are interlinked in terms of HG lifeways.

- While we are happy to go into these points in detail, we did not feel it should be necessary to explain relatively well-known terms, since this would add considerably to the length of the paper. Temporal shifts in diet are not redundant with intergroup dietary variation, which refers here to synchronic variation. We have made this clearer, and also refer to territoriality rather than land tenure (though one reviewer previously also objected to this term; we feel that the context in which this is used in the paper is sufficient to explain what is meant) and to go into more detail here would add considerably to the length of the paper.

94-95: Reducing oxygen isotopes as 'reflecting water consuming and thus can be used to

investigate mobility' is over simplifying the situation. Important nuance is required here. Please see the literature eg. Lightfoot and O'Connell, Pollard et al., etc.).

- More detail is supplied in the relevant section on the isotopes systems employed in the paper (section 3.1). To go into this here would be repetitive and out of place. Here we are simply noting the isotopes that will be utilised in the paper and their broad purpose ('diet' and 'mobility')

98 I take issue with the use of the term 'isotopic baseline'. A baseline implies a static, unchanging distribution of environmental inputs for a given area, which is not the case. Rather, the term 'isotopic reference data' or something similar should be used, reflecting dynamism in environmental inputs that influence the isotope composition of floras and fauna on any given landscape for a given amount of time.

- There is nothing inherent in the definition of the word 'baseline' that implies that it need be static (Merriam-Webster: 'critical observations or data used for comparison or a control'). A chronological period can have baseline data just as a region can. The term is widely used in isotopic studies in both archaeology and ecology (e.g., Woodland et al. 2012, Incorporating temporally dynamic baselines in isotopic mixing models. *Ecology* 93(1): 131-144).

103: what's the range of oxygen isotopic variation in these bodies of water? It's how you would demonstrate to the reader if there is potential to address mobility.

- This is presented in the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  background (section 3.2, final paragraph).

117- 122: This could use rewording for clarity and detail. What is the proposed reason for HG travel to Upper Lena to Little Sea? What's the isotopic pattern supporting that?

- A published source is cited for this. The specific data supporting this are discussed later in the paper.

122-23: Why important to investigate diachronic change in dietary intake between the LN and EBA?

- We would argue that identifying and interpreting variation synchronically and diachronically is at the heart of what we are trying to do as archaeologists. In this case we suggest (in the Discussion) a possible link with climate change.

124-128. This mini paragraph on radiocarbon dating should moved to methods.

- We disagree, since this section presents the nature of the analyses undertaken in the paper, not the methods. Similarly, the previous paragraph refers to stable isotope analysis being undertaken in the paper, number of samples and names of the sites.

143-148: what's the difference between the neolithic and the EBA in this region beyond burial styles? in terms of substance and society? (and/or other characters?)

- This information is readily available in the cited sources; we felt that repeating it here was unnecessary and would add considerably to the length of the paper.

Section 2.4 The authors should do a close edit here to cut down on the text and focus on aspects most relevant for the article.

- We try provide only the necessary site information in the main text and to restrict additional details to the SI in order to address this same issue. Nevertheless, since the sites are not well known outside of Russia and much of the literature is written in Russian, we felt that a certain amount of detail concerning the sites was warranted. Indeed a previous reviewer asked for more detail on Ulan Khada.

263: use 'nitrogen stable isotope ratio or d15N, not both.

- Done

269: Citations for sucking effect?

- Added

274: This is not very precise. The description (and citation) is for bioapatite, not collagen, the oxygen isotopic composition of which appears to derive more from food intake.

- Agreed, and we have expanded on this.

277-280: This needs a much more nuanced treatment. There is a large body of literature addressing the challenges to this approach, and this must be (if briefly) discussed here.

283-287: This is also a rather facile discussion of the issues related to extraction method its impact on oxygen isotopes in collagen. Even for a pilot data set, this must be discussed.

- We have added a section that we hope addresses the above two concerns.

300: I assume these are Russian names for the fish? Can you please indicate latin taxonomy? thanks.

- Done

303: citation supporting '13C enriched? if citations from next sentence, reword both sentence to combine.

- These sentences have been combined.

What material was sampled? Bone or tooth dentine?

- Section 4.2 begins 'Bone samples...' and the Catalogue specifies the elements.

397: Ok, there is an issue here in the prep method with respect to oxygen isotopes. The HCl prep method has been shown to exchange with atmospheric oxygen.

- Yes, this is known and acknowledged in the paper, yet the results clearly demonstrate that they are not completely overwritten.



Section 4.4 Can be folded into section 2.1 and shortened.

- Moved to Section 2

Section 5.1 This section is very long and wordy so as the 'Big Picture' gets lost. Please take a look again, draw out that big picture, and use some of the subsequent detail to support that big picture. Your readers will appreciate it!

- We have shortened this section, but tried to retain the important detail on chronological assignment, since this is made more complex by reservoir corrections, and underpins the rest of the isotopic analysis.

Figure 9 caption. Describe what the box is indicating.

- The caption has been modified to 'Individuals from LN Grave 33 are identified by the box and lines'.

Can you also plot mean and SD values in the graph? Same for Figure 10. Otherwise, it's hard to draw out patterns (or lack thereof). You may also want to introduce color (in such a way that it will also work in black and white).

- We feel there are too few values in each of the subgroups to warrant plotting means and SD. A colour version of all of the scatter plots and a few other figures have now been provided for the digital version of the article that should make the patterns in the data clearer.

Figure 11. Maybe I'm missing something here, but I don't understand how it was determined certain individuals were assigned 'suspected' non-locals. It's not particularly evident in the data plot.

- The caption has been modified to 'Individuals suspected of being non-local to the site based on  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results are highlighted and their Master ID's provided. Those from Verkholsensk are all from Grave 33 (see box on Figure 9).' They are identified as outliers by being  $> 1.5$  times the IQR for the site in the case of Verkholsensk, and in terms of all other LN individuals in the case of Ulan Khada. This was noted in SI but has now been added to the main text as well. The plot comparing  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  is provided in SI, and highlights another outlier in both isotopes.

Much of the discussion can be compressed and sharpened. Again, it would be helpful if the authors do out the Big Picture and then supported that argument with (isotopic) details. Right now, it's so sprawling and littered with over-detail that the reader forgets why this data set is important. A heavy revise is needed here.

- The data and the region are both complex, and we have tried to have a balance between detail and narrative.

The conclusion right now is largely a summary of MS. It would be useful if the authors tied these data into broader statements about LB, EBA etc. dietary patterns in the Baikal regions, broader statements about mobility, and future directions/challenges) (beyond "we need to do

more isotopes and some aDNA- make it clear to what end'

- Where the need for additional research is noted, it is targeted towards answering specific questions that have arisen through the results presented here and in previous research in the region.
- While we understand the associate editor's general concern that the paper does not focus on the 'big picture' enough, we feel that given the large regional dataset, complexity of the material and analysis, and the need to introduce two sites that have previously only been written about in the Russian language constrains our ability to go over more general terminology. We do relate our research to broader themes in prehistoric hunter-gatherer research and to research in the larger region, trying to strike a balance between these needs. Lastly, we wished to mention that a special issue journal volume will be released this year by the BAP team, including work from most of the authors on this paper, that directly addresses many of these big picture issues using the entire BAP Cis-Baikal dataset.

#### *Reviewer 1*

The paper is greatly improved from the original manuscript. There are still a few minor edits required before publication.

##### 1. Response letter

In your response you wrote "We are not clear what the reviewer is referring to here. As stated, this discussion relates to the well-documented division into 'Game-Fish' and 'Game-Fish-Seal' diets based mainly on the  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results (though there is also a small difference in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ , but not one sufficient to result in a non-normal distribution). Dilution by tributaries is not relevant since reference is to the Little Sea". You have somehow mixed up two separate remarks in my original review, which were:

- some  $\text{d}^{18}\text{O}$  results are explained as potentially from the Angara on the basis that "further downstream the river will become more  $^{18}\text{O}$ -depleted as tributaries dilute the influence of the lake's waters", without considering how this might affect  $\text{d}^{13}\text{C}$  values;
- it is not explained why the observation that "the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values for the EBA are normally distributed, but the  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  are not" is consistent with the expectation of two clusters of results;

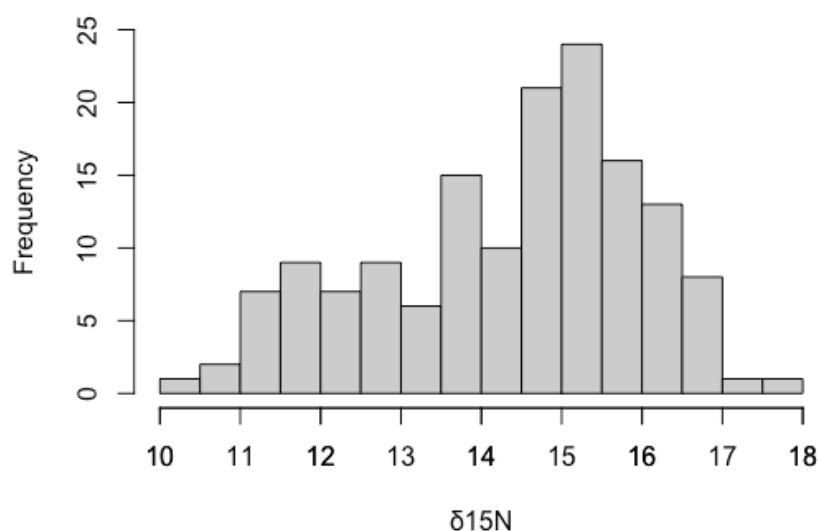
The first remark was about the 3 outliers at UK, whose  $\text{d}^{13}\text{C}$  values were used to suggest an origin in the Angara region, even though this would probably not account for their  $\text{d}^{18}\text{O}$  values; the authors try to explain the (Upper-Lena-like)  $\text{d}^{18}\text{O}$ s by dilution of the Angara by tributaries, ignoring the obvious problem that such dilution could also produce Upper-Lena-like  $\text{d}^{13}\text{C}$ s (more negative, not more positive, than those at UK).

- We apologise for our misunderstanding of these points and thank the reviewer for their clarification. In relation to this point, it is unclear at what point the Angara's  $\text{d}^{18}\text{O}$  values will noticeably change, compared to the depletion in  $^{13}\text{C}$ . We have added the sentence: 'This dilution would concomitantly lead to increasingly  $^{13}\text{C}$ -depleted fish, but humans

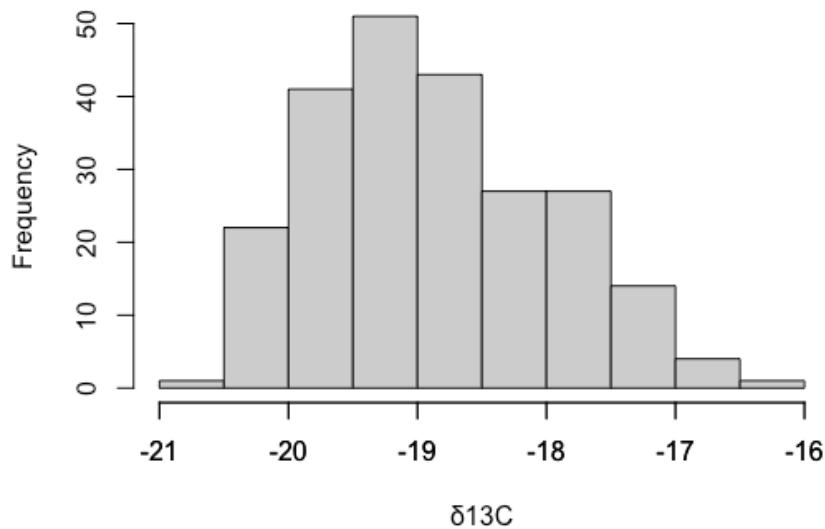
along the Angara show a considerable range in their  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values, so that the proposed scenario may still be plausible, though it does require further investigation.'

The second remark (quoting text from the next paragraph) was about the 'normal' individuals at UK, not the 3 outliers. I assume that there are not enough cases to show 2 clusters in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values, but I am surprised that there are enough to exclude that the  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ s are normally distributed. Yes,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ s at EBA sites in the Little Sea area seem to be bimodal, with peaks around +12 (GF consumers) and +15 (GFS consumers) (Fig 13). The  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  situation is less clear to me, and I don't know how the patterns in human collagen are derived from fauna. Given the reference data in Fig 5, I would predict GFS consumers to have lower  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ s than GF consumers, but Fig 13 shows a clear positive correlation between the two isotopes, except in the Upper Lena, where there are no seals. Even in the new UK data, the 2 or 3 GF individuals have lower  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ s than the GFS individuals. The human data would make more sense to me if the GFS individuals simply ate more littoral fish than the GF individuals, and seals were hardly eaten at all. This is not the place to reconsider the whole GF vs GFS division, but the seal values shown in Fig 5 seem fairly implausible as reference data.

- We were insufficiently clear on the GF and GFS diets, and have expanded on their differences, including a new  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  histogram. Below we have provided additional versions that include the new data from Ulan-Khada as well. The interpretation of the GFS diet is based in part on the significant presence of seal bones in Little Sea archaeological sites, and on more formal modelling that is to be presented elsewhere – showing that a combination of littoral fish and seals can result in the observed values on an individual basis. The reviewer raises an interesting point about how then to explain the positive correlation in the two isotopes (though this is low when only the GFS group is considered), but that would require another paper to discuss.



*Little Sea  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values (including the new data from Ulan-Khada).*



*Little Sea  $\delta^{13}C$  values (including the new data from Ulan-Khada).*

Formatting issues

There is no sub-section 2.2

- Removed

Text edits

Lines 193 and 194: "internments" - "inhumations" would be preferable, or "interments" if you must

- Changed

Line 327: perhaps add that all measurements were on bone collagen, assuming this is the case

- Added

Lines 509-510 "Two dates from Ulan-Khada extend substantially past the lower (older) boundary of the LN" - having looked at it a few times, I think what is intended is "Two dates from Ulan-Khada appear to fall well before the beginning of the LN" (whereas "past X" is a practically a synonym for "after X")

- Changed

Line 511 "are not unexpected" - "is to be expected" would sound better

- We have shortened the sentence and this was removed.

**Integrated Stable Isotopic and Radiocarbon Analyses of Neolithic and Bronze Age Hunter-Gatherers from the Little Sea and Upper Lena Micro- Regions, Cis-Baikal, Siberia**

J. Alyssa White<sup>a</sup>

**Corresponding Author**

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: [julia.white@arch.ox.ac.uk](mailto:julia.white@arch.ox.ac.uk)

Rick J. Schulting<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: [rick.schulting@arch.ox.ac.uk](mailto:rick.schulting@arch.ox.ac.uk)

Andrew Lythe<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: [andrew.lythe@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:andrew.lythe@mail.mcgill.ca)

Peter Hommel<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: [peter.hommel@arch.ox.ac.uk](mailto:peter.hommel@arch.ox.ac.uk)

Christopher Bronk Ramsey<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Dyson Perrins Building, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3QY, UK  
Email: [christopher.ramsey@rlaha.ox.ac.uk](mailto:christopher.ramsey@rlaha.ox.ac.uk)

Vyacheslav Moiseyev<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences, Universitetskaya Nab. 3, St. Petersburg, 199034, Russia  
Email: [vmoiseyev@mail.ru](mailto:vmoiseyev@mail.ru)

Valeri Khartanovich<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences, Universitetskaya Nab. 3, St. Petersburg, 199034, Russia  
Email: [vkhartan@kunstkamera.ru](mailto:vkhartan@kunstkamera.ru)

Andrzej W. Weber<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2E5  
Email: [aweber@ualberta.ca](mailto:aweber@ualberta.ca)

## Abstract

The Lake Baikal region of southern Siberia has a rich mortuary record that has provided the most comprehensive isotopic database for palaeodietary studies of north-temperate hunter-gatherers in the world, permitting more detailed reconstructions and finer-grained research questions than are usually possible. Building on previous work, this study contributes new  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ , and AMS radiocarbon dating results from the cemeteries of Verkholsk ( $n = 44$ ) in the Upper Lena River micro-region and Ulan-Khada ( $n = 19$ ) in the Little Sea micro-region. Our results reveal that the Late Neolithic (LN, 5570–4600 cal BP) individuals at Verkholsk exhibit higher  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values than in the Early Bronze Age (EBA, 4600–3700 cal BP), suggesting a shift to a more terrestrial diet, possibly in response to climate-induced environmental changes. In addition, EBA individuals at Verkholsk differ in both  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  from those at the nearby site of Obkhai, suggesting territorial divisions at a surprisingly small scale, although there is a diachronic component that needs to be considered, highlighting the need for additional work on freshwater reservoir corrections for the Upper Lena micro-region. The Ulan-Khada EBA results are consistent with the ‘Game-Fish’ and ‘Game-Fish-Seal’ dietary patterns previously identified in the Little Sea micro-region. The now substantial Little Sea micro-region EBA sample size allow for more subtle differences in diet to be identified, namely that EBA females with Game-Fish-Seal diets for the whole of the Little Sea sample display significantly lower mean  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values than their male counterparts, providing some of the first evidence for sex-based dietary distinctions in Lake Baikal.

A small number of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and/or  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  outliers were identified at both Verkholsk and Ulan-Khada that may support previous suggestions of individual mobility between the Upper Lena and Little Sea micro-regions. Exploratory use of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  isotopes in bone collagen offers a novel line of support for this scenario, confirming a number of -identified independently outliers.

**Keywords:** Lake Baikal, Hunter–gatherers, Middle Holocene, Diet, Stable Isotopes, Radiocarbon dating

## 1. Introduction

The Lake Baikal region of eastern Siberia has been well-studied archaeologically for over a century (Okladnikov, 1950, 1955, 1959). More recently, the Baikal Archaeology Project (BAP, 1995–2011) and the Baikal–Hokkaido Archaeology Project (BHAP, 2011–2018) have contributed much new data focused on the excavation and analysis of human and faunal remains. The extensive comparative isotopic and radiocarbon datasets now available make it possible to obtain a finer resolution understanding of prehistoric hunter-gatherer lifestyles than is usually feasible. The current study builds on previous research by exploring the interactions between two micro-regions: Lake Baikal’s Little Sea and the Upper Lena River (Figure 1). Specifically, this study sheds light on our understanding of intergroup dietary variation, land tenure, and temporal shifts in diet and mobility.

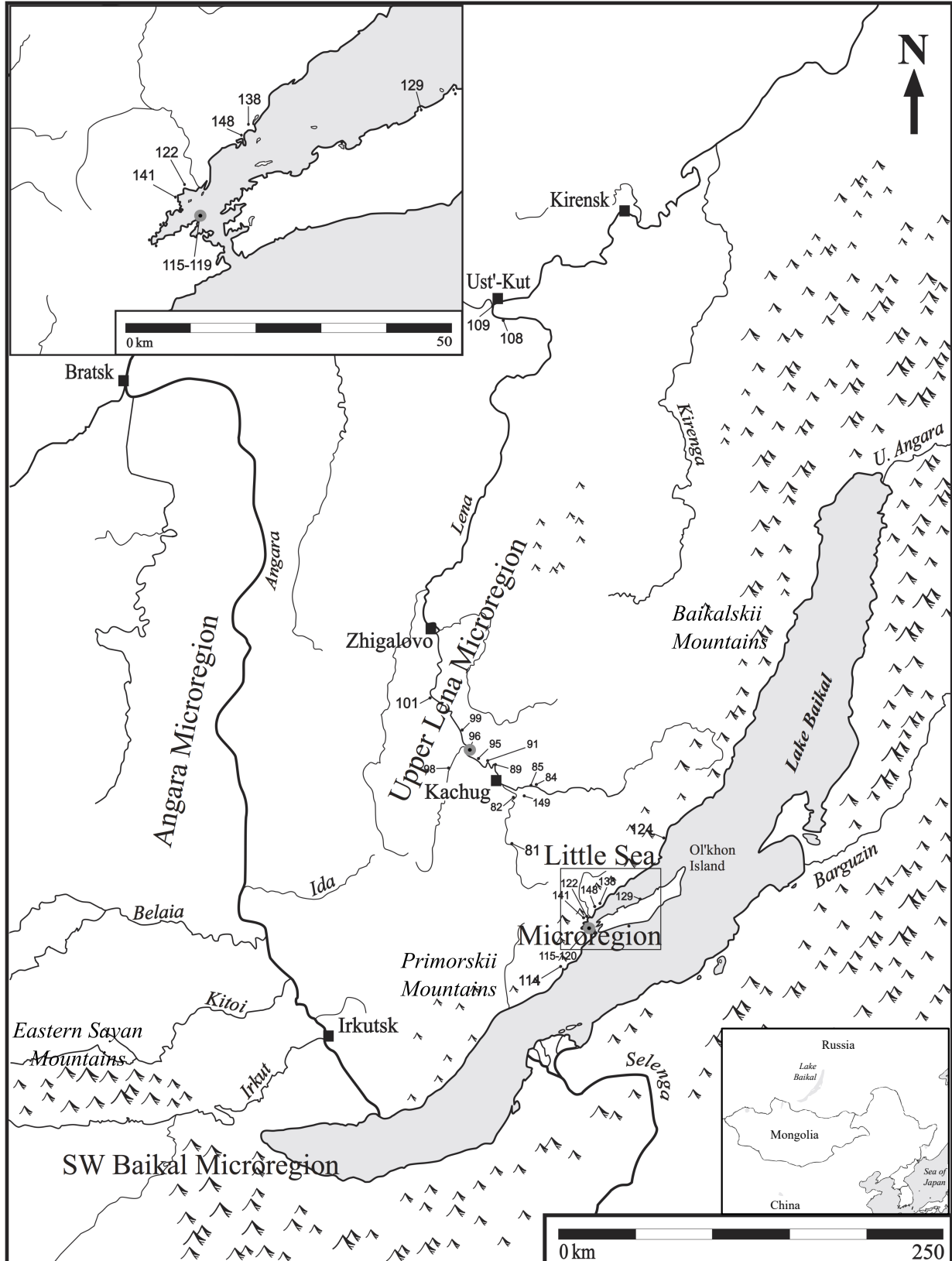
Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analyses are useful in the study of past diets because they can semi-quantify the contributions of certain broad food groups (e.g., terrestrial or aquatic). Oxygen isotopes reflect sources of water consumed (from drink and food), and so can be used to investigate mobility. Reconstruction of specific dietary patterns is predicated upon the knowledge of potential sources of food and drinking water and the ability to distinguish them isotopically. Previous studies have analysed substantial collections of modern and archaeological faunal samples to create an isotopic baseline for ‘Cis-Baikal’, the region to the west of the lake (Katzenberg et al., 2012; Katzenberg and Weber, 1999; Weber et al., 2002). Due to the distinctive isotopic ecologies of Lake Baikal and its surrounding rivers (discussed in detail in 3.2 and in SI), it is possible to evaluate the contribution of aquatic resources in more detail than is usually possible for freshwater systems. Furthermore, a number of water bodies have distinct oxygen isotope values (Seal and Shanks, 1998), providing the potential to address mobility.

For this study, bone samples representing 63 individuals from the cemeteries of Verkholsk (n = 44), mainly associated with the Late Neolithic (LN, 5570–4600 cal BP) and Early Bronze Age (EBA, 4600–3700 cal BP), in the Upper Lena micro-region, and from Ulan-Khada (n = 19), primarily associated with the EBA in the Little Sea micro-region, were analysed (Weber et al., 2016). Hunting, gathering and fishing continued throughout the sequence: there is no evidence for domesticated plants or animals, other than the dog.

Analysis of individuals from Ulan-Khada allows us to expand upon an extensive dataset for the Little Sea micro-region and to further assess previously identified dietary patterns, e.g. to test the validity of the Little Sea ‘Game-Fish’ and ‘Game-Fish-Seal’ diet groups (Weber and Bettinger, 2010; Weber and Goriunova, 2013; Weber et al., 2011), as well as any age- or sex-based patterning within them. Particularly significant is the inclusion of data from Verkholsk, the largest excavated cemetery along the Upper Lena River, which has received less study than other micro-regions, and allows testing of previously proposed hypotheses. Specifically, hunter-gatherer travel between the Upper Lena and the Little Sea has been suggested based on carbon, nitrogen, and strontium isotope results (Weber and Goriunova, 2013). Moreover, unlike other cemeteries previously investigated in the Upper Lena micro-region, Verkholsk spans the LN and EBA, making it possible to investigate diachronic diet change at a single location, particularly with reference to potential human responses to environmental change.

Following the standard research methodology of BAP/BHAP, all the individuals are directly radiocarbon-dated. This provides a robust chronological framework, allowing the (re)assessment of the typological period assignment of each burial, with the possibility of fine-tuning our understanding of both mortuary variability, and the absolute chronology of the main culture-historical sequence.

**Figure 1:** Map of the Cis-Baikal region showing the micro-regions (Angara, Upper, Lena, Little Sea, and Southwest Baikal), sites sampled (<sup>96</sup> Verkholsensk and <sup>115–119</sup> Ulan-Khada II, III, IV, V), and relevant sites in the Upper Lena (<sup>81</sup> Manzurka, <sup>82</sup> Ulus Khal'skii, <sup>84</sup> Makrushino, <sup>85</sup> Iushino, <sup>89</sup> Popovskii Lug 2, <sup>91</sup> Makarovo, <sup>95</sup> Nikol'skii Grot, <sup>98</sup> Obkhoi, <sup>99</sup> Ust'-Iamnaia, <sup>101</sup> Zapleskino, <sup>108</sup> Turuka, <sup>109</sup> Zakuta, and <sup>149</sup> Borki) and Little Sea (<sup>114</sup> Khotoruk, <sup>122</sup> Sarminskii Mys, <sup>124</sup> Kulgana, <sup>129</sup> Shamanskii Mys, <sup>138</sup> Kurma XI, <sup>141</sup> Khuzhir-Nuge XIV, and <sup>148</sup> Khadarta IV).  
Regional map sources: Esri, DeLorme, HERE, MapmyIndia





## 2. The sites in their regional context

### 2.1. Archaeological background

Research on Lake Baikal hunter-gatherers has mainly focused on the abundant Neolithic and EBA cemeteries of the region (Weber et al., 2016) (Table 1). The Kitoi mortuary complex from the Angara valley and southwest Baikal is associated with the Early Neolithic (EN), characterised by rich grave goods and the abundant use of red ochre (Bazaliiskii, 2010; Weber, 1995; Weber and Bettinger, 2010; Weber et al., 2016). Burials dating to the Middle Neolithic (MN) are extremely rare and there have been no cemeteries found dating to the period.

**Table 1:** Middle Holocene chronology for Cis-Baikal (after Weber et al., 2016) and mortuary traditions present in the Upper Lena and Little Sea. HPD signifies the Highest Posterior Density interval.

| Archaeological Period | Mortuary Tradition         | Radiocarbon Dates                |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Late Mesolithic       | -                          | ca. 8280 – 7500 mean HPD cal BP  |
| Early Neolithic       | Kitoi (Angara & SW Baikal) | ca. 7500 – 7030 mean HPD cal BP  |
| Middle Neolithic      | -                          | ca. 7030 – 5570* mean HPD cal BP |
| Late Neolithic        | Isakovo and Serovo         | ca. *5570 – 4600 mean HPD cal BP |
| Early Bronze Age      | Glazkovo                   | ca. 4600 – 3730 mean HPD cal BP  |

*\*The start of the LN (and hence the end of the MN) is currently being revised, and now looks likely to be a few centuries earlier (BAP project data).*

During the LN, cemetery use was reinstated and continued throughout the EBA (Weber et al., 2016). The identifying characteristics of the period's Serovo mortuary complex vary regionally. In the Little Sea and Upper Lena, skeletons are often covered by birch bark and many show evidence of light burning within the grave pits and red ochre in small patches. Upper Lena graves tend to contain more fishing gear and antler picks than seen in Little Sea graves, whereas small clay vessels are more common in the latter (Bazaliiskii, 2010; Weber et al., 2016).

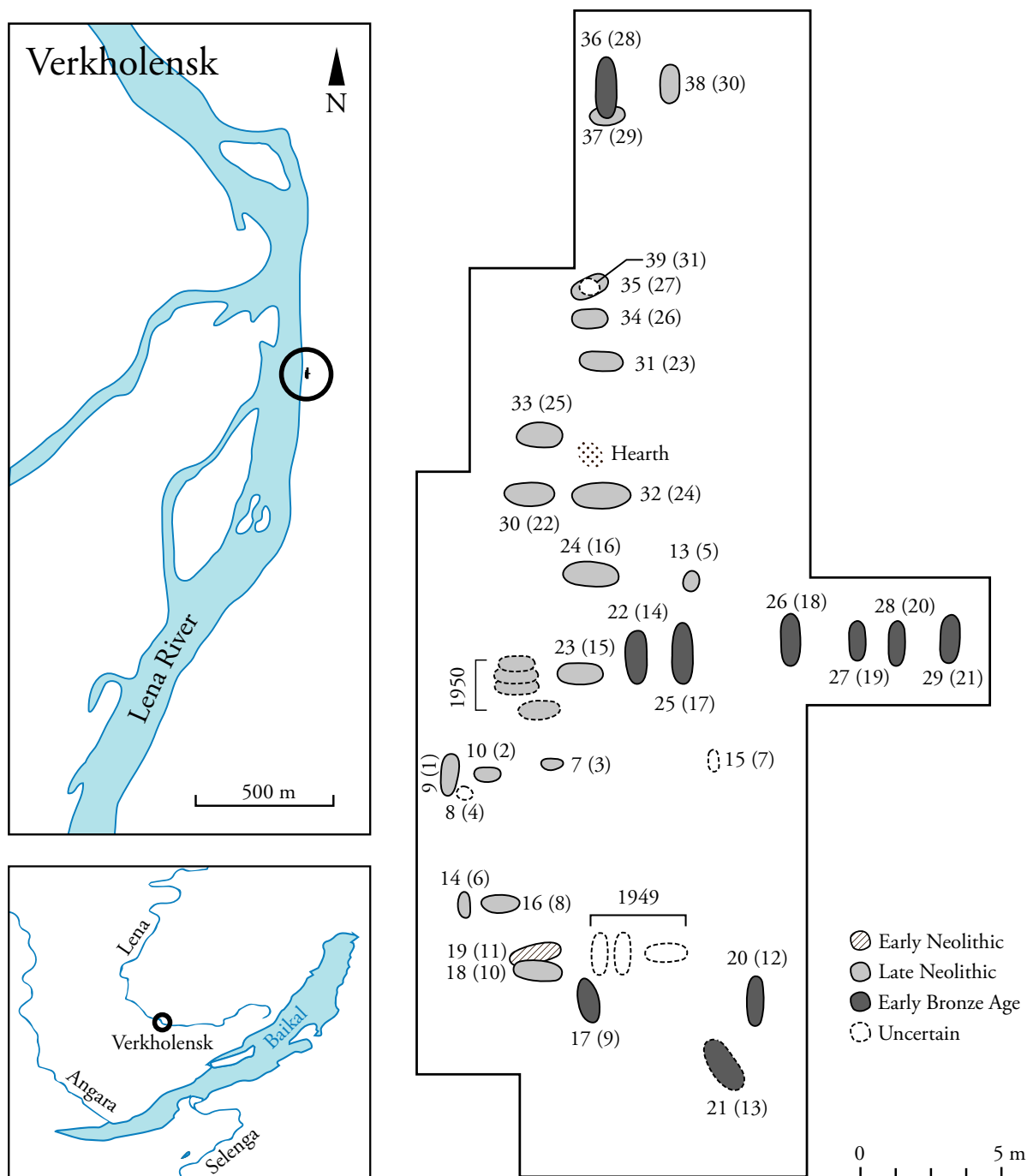
The Glazkovo mortuary tradition dates to the EBA, but metal grave goods are rare and its defining characteristic is the orientation of graves along the courses of major rivers or coastline (Weber, 1995; Weber et al., 2016). For instance, Upper Lena graves tend to be arranged parallel to the Lena, whereas graves from the Little Sea tend to be oriented southwest-northeast, roughly parallel to the coastline (Weber et al., 2016). Nevertheless, it has been noted that Glazkovo is more uniform in Cis-Baikal than earlier traditions (Shepard et al., 2016). The practice of lighting small fires within or over the graves continued. Clay vessels and fishing tackle are less common than in the preceding Serovo, but ornaments made from small beads or animal bones are common. LN and EBA graves tend to co-occur within the same cemeteries and their burial structures are often visible (Weber et al., 2016).

There is extensive archaeological and isotopic evidence for reliance on fishing along with ungulate and seal hunting (Weber and Bettinger, 2010; Weber et al., 2002; 2011). Net-impressed EN pottery offers indirect evidence of net fishing technology. Harpoons, fishhook shanks, and composite fishhooks are common in Kitoi graves. While there is as yet no direct evidence for watercraft, it has been argued that enthesal changes (musculoskeletal stress markers) on the upper limbs of some individuals may reflect their use (Lieverse et al., 2009; Losey et al., 2012).

### 2.2. Verkholensk

Verkholensk is located on the right bank of the Lena River at the edge of a modern village of the same name (Figure 2). The cemetery sits on a high river terrace that is visible from a distance. Okladnikov (1978) provides detailed descriptions of the cemetery and individual graves, most of which were disturbed to some degree prior to excavation. Common grave goods included arrowheads and arrow shaft straighteners, boar and beaver teeth, bone awls, harpoons, needle cases, bone and stone representations of fish, composite fishhooks, flint flakes, and blades, shell beads, stone and nephrite adzes, net-impressed pottery, and worked antler objects. These, along with grave orientation, typologically classify burials as LN or EBA. There were both single and multiple inhumations, as well as evidence for later burials being added to or intruding upon previous inhumations (e.g., Graves 19 and 24).

**Figure 2:** Verkholensk cemetery plan and location along the Lena River. Adapted by PH and RJS from Okladnikov (1955:219) Figure 104 and Okladnikov (1978:5) Figure 1. For clarity, our map includes the cumulative grave numbers assigned by Okladnikov in his 1978 publication and those assigned during the original excavation (in brackets), see Supplemental Information (SI 1) for more details. The period assignments reflect the results of this study.

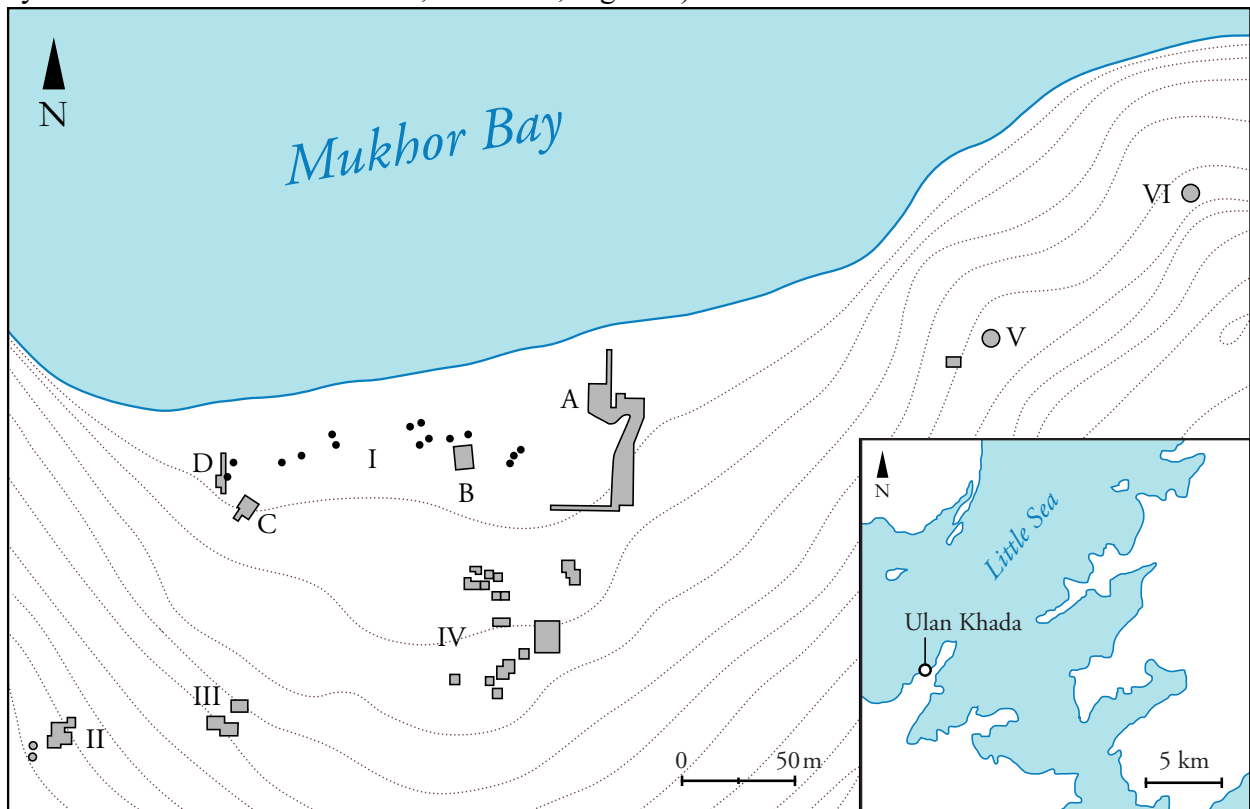


### 2.3. Ulan-Khada

Ulan-Khada is located on the south coast of the Little Sea's Mukhor Bay. Komarova and Sher (1992) describe the cemetery and individual burials in detail, while Goriunova and Khlobystin (1992) discuss the chronology of the graves based on typological criteria. Unusually, the Ulan-Khada cemetery is in close proximity to a habitation site (Figure 3, A–D) (Khlobystin and Clark, 1969; Komarova and Sher, 1992; Okladnikov, 1950). The cemetery was divided into six sectors, ca. 50 to 250 m apart, the significance of which is not clear: they could represent familial burial places or other sub-groups within the community. Most of the individuals analysed in this study come from sectors II and IV (Figure 4). A number of graves appear to have been looted or otherwise disturbed in the past.

Ulan-Khada II and III are located on a slope, and all the graves were marked by two layers of stone. Ulan-Khada II grave goods included a bone harpoon, a bronze knife, flint arrowheads, flint knives, nephrite disks and axes, plain pottery, and red deer tooth pendants. Ulan-Khada III is 55 m downslope from Ulan-Khada II. Three areas covered by stones were excavated, but only one yielded a grave with a burial dating to the EBA.

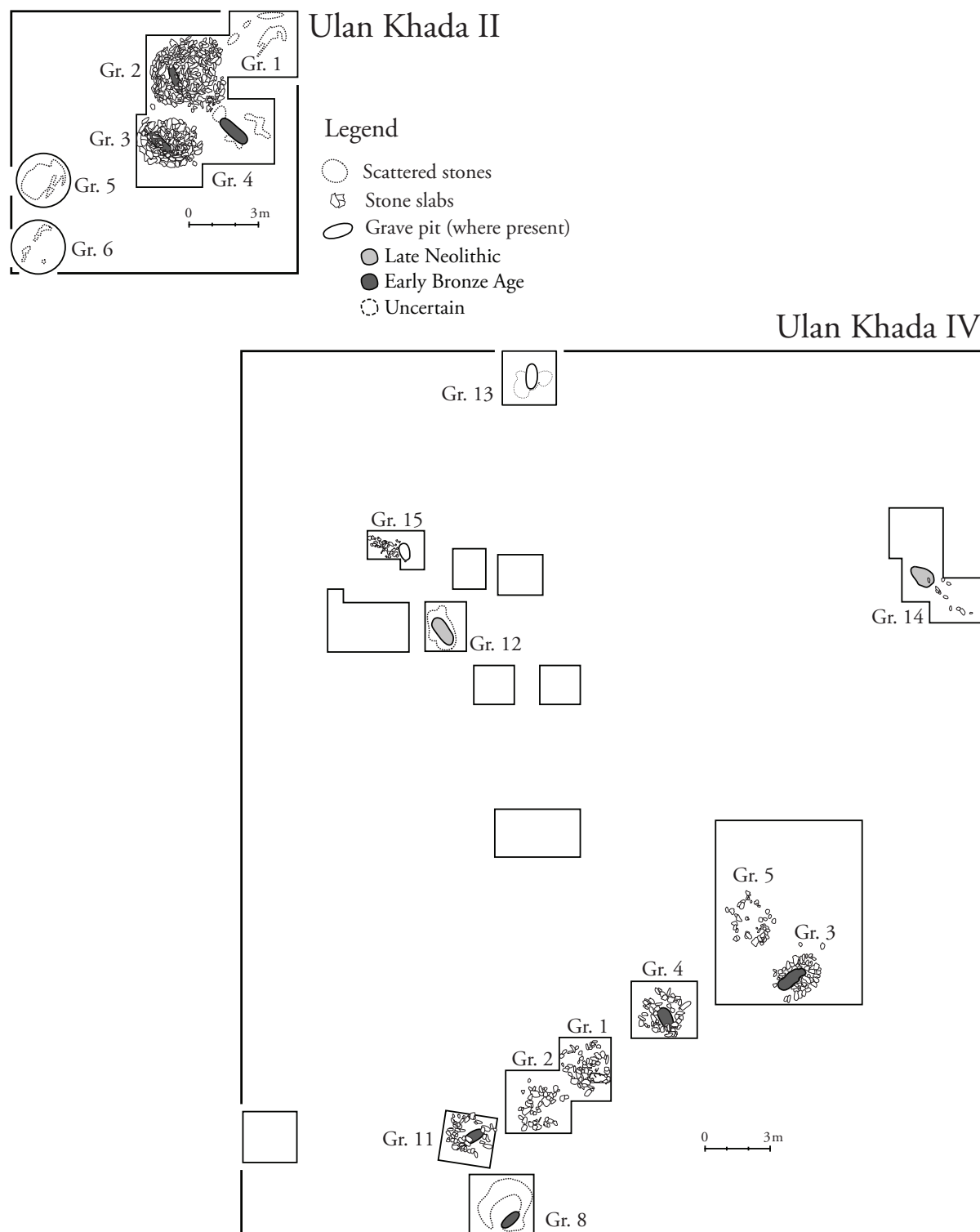
**Figure 3:** Map of Ulan-Khada stratified site (A–D) and Ulan-Khada cemeteries (II–VI) (adapted by PH from Komarova and Sher, 1992:148, Figure 2).



Ten of the 21 stone clusters excavated at Ulan-Khada IV marked graves, with the remainder being either random groupings of natural stones, or, as the excavators suggested, perhaps marked infant graves whose bones did not survive in the sandy soils (Komarova and Sher, 1992). Grave goods included a bear tooth, birch bark, boar tusk plates and plaques, bone awls, a bone carving of a moose, ceramic fragments, charcoal, a copper plate, flint prismatic blades, a small axe-shaped nephrite pendant, ochre, a composite fishhook shank, and red deer tooth pendants. Ulan-Khada IV Graves 12, 13, and 15 were thought to be EN based on the presence of red ochre and characteristic grave goods, though only the burials from Grave 12 were available for sampling. The remaining graves were classified as Glazkovo (Goriunova and Khlobystin, 1991). Ulan-Khada V is located directly on the slope that borders the bay to the east. The single individual available for analysis came from a rectangular burial pit covered by stones and lacked

grave goods. Finally, Ulan-Khada VI yielded only a single grave – reported to be Late Bronze Age typologically (Goriunova and Khlobystin, 1991) – that was unavailable for this study.

**Figure 4:** Ulan-Khada II and IV cemetery plans adapted by PH from Komarova and Sher, (1992:181) Figure 35. The period assignments reflect the results of this study. The spatial relationship between Ulan-Khada II and IV is not shown.



Further details concerning Verkholsk and Ulan-Khada can be found in Supplementary Information (SI 1). The original cultural classifications for the Verkholsk and Ulan-Khada

graves to specific mortuary traditions and archaeological periods were proposed on typological grounds using culture historical schemes (e.g. Komarova and Sher, 1992; Okladnikov, 1978) that predate the recent extensive program of radiocarbon dating (Weber, 1995; Weber et al., 2016). Although for Verkholensk and Ulan-Khada these generally remain valid, their chronological position relative to one another has been revised and in a few instances radiocarbon dates warranted a reassignment to a different period (see 5.1).

### 3. Local Isotopic Ecology and Previous Analyses

#### 3.1. Stable Isotopic Analyses

Stable carbon ( $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ) and nitrogen ( $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ) isotopes in adult bone collagen reflect aspects of average diet over approximately the last decade of life (Hedges et al., 2007; Tieszen et al., 1983). Due to the preferential routing of amino acids in metabolic processes,  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  measurements on collagen are biased towards the protein component of the diet (Ambrose and Norr, 1993; Tieszen and Fagre, 1993). Values vary significantly by photosynthetic pathway and by carbon source, differentiating between plants using  $\text{C}_3$ ,  $\text{C}_4$ , and CAM pathways and the animals reliant on them.  $\text{C}_3$  and marine systems can also be distinguished through differences in the baseline values of atmospheric and ocean carbon pools (DeNiro and Epstein, 1978; Schoeninger and DeNiro, 1984). Cis-Baikal presents a typical  $\text{C}_3$  ecosystem, lacking significant  $\text{C}_4$  plants. Nevertheless, as discussed further below, the lake's unique isotopic ecology features a wide range of  $^{13}\text{C}$  values, overlapping those seen in marine systems (Yoshii, 1999; Yoshii et al., 1999).

Nitrogen derives from the protein component of the diet;  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  increases by +3–6‰ with trophic level, providing information on an organism's position in its food web (Bocherens and Drucker, 2003; DeNiro and Epstein, 1981; Hedges and Reynard, 2007; Minagawa and Wada, 1984; O'Connell et al., 2012; Schoeninger and DeNiro, 1984). Nursing infants partly reflect this trophic level shift, being  $^{15}\text{N}$ -enriched relative to their mothers (Fuller et al., 2006; Schurr, 1998). For this reason, care needs to be taken to treat their values separately from those of older children and adults. Waters-Rist et al. (2011) found that EN and LN infants from the Angara valley were normally nursed until about 2 to 3 years old, whereas children from 4 to 10 years old were not isotopically distinct from adults in the same groups. Fish are typically  $^{15}\text{N}$ -enriched due to the longer food chains in aquatic systems; when contributing significantly to the diet, as is the case in Cis-Baikal, they result in high human  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values far beyond those normally seen in terrestrial systems.

Oxygen isotopes ( $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ ) in human tissues reflect sources of ingested water from both drinking water and food. Processes of evaporation and precipitation lead to isotopic differences in precipitation on regional scales (Jouzel et al., 2000). Because  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  in drinking water is strongly related to local precipitation, measurements made on humans can in theory be compared against environmental precipitation and drinking water data in order to determine whether they are consistent with a local origin (Darling et al., 2003). In practice, making any such direct comparisons is problematic (cf. Pellegrini et al., 2016).

Measurements are usually undertaken on carbonate or phosphate in tooth enamel, which was not available for the present analysis. Instead, we present the results of a small pilot study exploring the utility of measuring  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  in bone collagen, using the same material prepared for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  analysis. While this avoids the problem of post-depositional diagenesis affecting bone apatite, sample preparation leads to the exchange of a portion of the oxygen (<20%) in collagen with  $\text{H}_2\text{O}$  in the laboratory's atmosphere and in the reagent waters used for demineralisation (von Holstein et al., 2018 ; cf. Bowen et al., 2005). Direct comparisons with results from other laboratories as well as with environmental datasets are therefore not possible. Nevertheless, while attenuating the biogenic signal, the exchangeable oxygen is expected to be

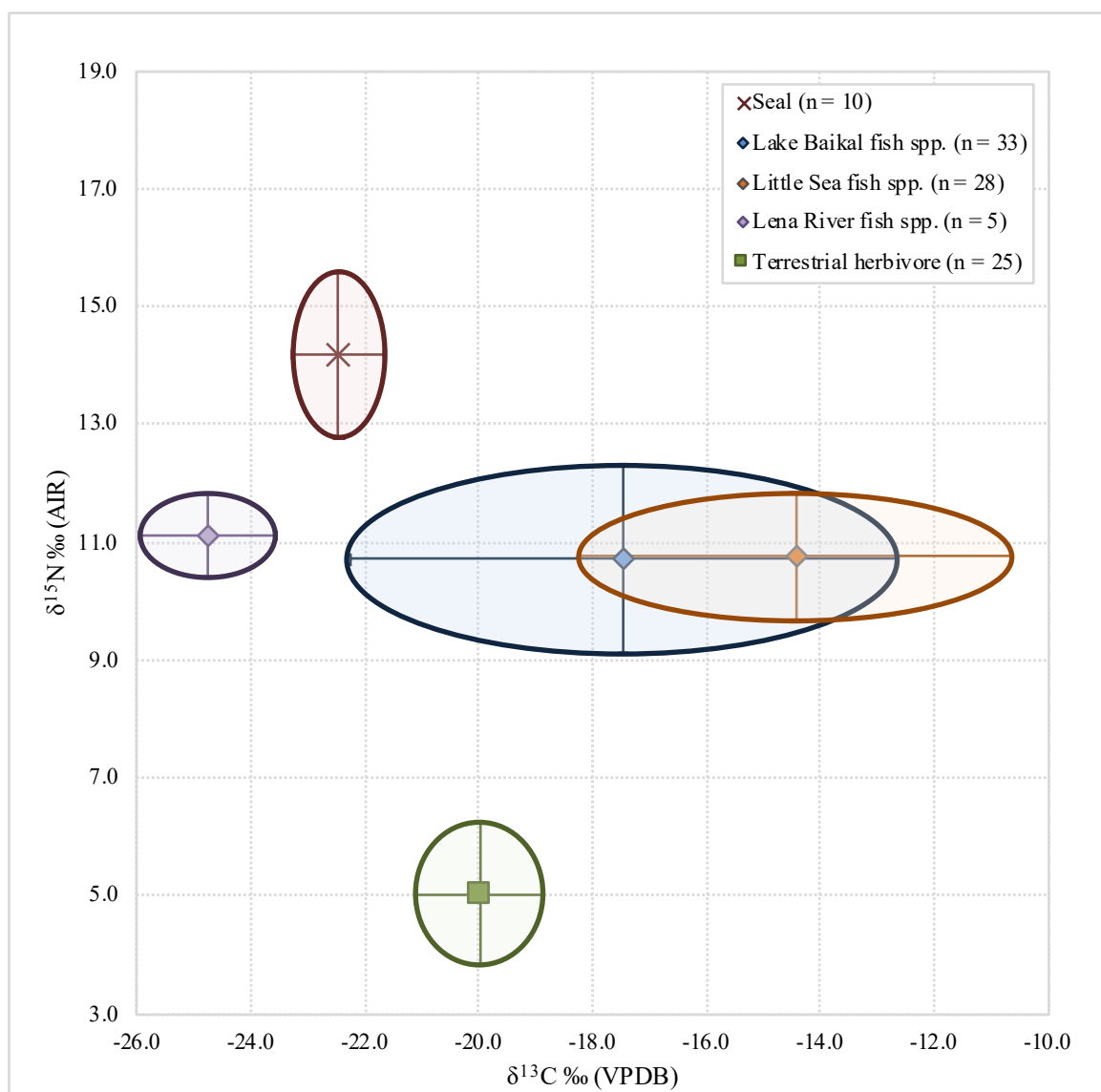
similarly affected as long as the samples were prepared using the same methods, at the same time and in the same laboratory (i.e., the ‘principle of identical treatment’), and so the results can still be compared in *relative* terms with one another. Another issue involves uncertainty over the proportional contributions of  $^{18}\text{O}$  from drinking water and from dietary protein to bone collagen. For our purposes it is sufficient to note that both are relevant, and that studies have shown that  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  on proteinaceous tissues (i.e., collagen and keratin) still tracks environmental trends, since drinking water and food are not independent (Chesson et al., 2011; Kirsanow and Tuross, 2011). Thus, even if  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  in collagen derives primarily from food, the food items will still ultimately reflect environmental waters. We are mainly interested here in: 1) determining whether or not the expected direction and magnitude of difference in  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  can be identified between the two sites, suggesting that at least part of the endogenous signal survives; and 2) determining whether outliers identified through  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  analysis are also outliers in  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ .

### 3.2. Local Isotopic Ecology

Isotopic data ( $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ) are available for a range of terrestrial and aquatic fauna from Cis-Baikal (Katzenberg and Weber, 1999; Katzenberg et al., 2012; Weber et al., 2002; Weber et al., 2011). Most of the aquatic fauna derive from Lake Baikal, the Little Sea, and Angara micro-regions, with only a few results available for the Upper Lena. Due to the limited availability of archaeological specimens, the fish are mainly modern, adjusted for the fossil fuel effect (Friedli et al., 1986). The region’s flora has not yet been analysed isotopically, with the exception of ‘cedar’ (*Pinus sibirica*) nuts (Lam, 1994; Weber et al., 2002).

Lake Baikal presents a very unusual isotope ecology. Its two primary producers—phytoplankton and periphytic algae—differ by over 20‰ in their mean  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values (Yoshii, 1999; Yoshii et al., 1999). This results in fish bone collagen  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values ranging from  $-24.6\text{‰}$  (omul’, *Coregonus migratorius*) to  $-12.9\text{‰}$  (ide, *Leuciscus idus*) (Figure 5), depending largely on habitat preferences, which can vary even within the same species. Fish from shallow coves and lagoons, where photosynthetic productivity is dominated by attached green algae, tend to be  $^{13}\text{C}$ -enriched and pelagic species such as the omul’ and endemic Baikal seal (*Phoca sibirica*), on the other hand, are  $^{13}\text{C}$ -depleted (Katzenberg et al., 2012; Weber, 2003; Weber and Bettinger, 2010; Weber et al., 2011). The Little Sea mainly contains cove, lagoon and littoral fishes (with a  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  range of 10‰). Since the Lena River is not connected to Lake Baikal, it does not have  $^{13}\text{C}$ -enriched fishes and thus lacks the high  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values seen in the lake’s inshore fishes. Seals and pike (*Esox lucius*) are top predators and so have correspondingly high  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values (Katzenberg and Weber, 1999; Katzenberg et al., 2010). Pike is the Lena’s top predator (for further details on the aquatic resources see SI 2).

**Figure 5:** Lake Baikal, Little Sea, and Lena River aquatic and terrestrial faunal isotope ranges (mean  $\pm$  one standard deviation) from Katzenberg et al. (2012) and Weber et al. (2002). The fish values are modern and are adjusted for a fossil fuel effect. The terrestrial herbivore and seal values are from archaeological samples.





Baikal's isotopic water values are determined by river inputs and outputs as well as by precipitation and evaporation (Mackay et al., 2011; Morley et al., 2005; Seal and Shanks, 1998). The lake has a mean  $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{VSMOW}}$  value of  $-15.8 \pm 0.3\text{‰}$  ( $n = 32$ ), with the low variability reflecting the lake's well-mixed waters (Morley et al., 2005; Seal and Shanks, 1998). The Upper Lena is more variable, but has a significantly lower mean  $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{VSMOW}}$  value of  $-19.6 \pm 1.4\text{‰}$  ( $n = 33$ ) that generally conforms to the Global Meteoric Water Line (Seal and Shanks, 1998).

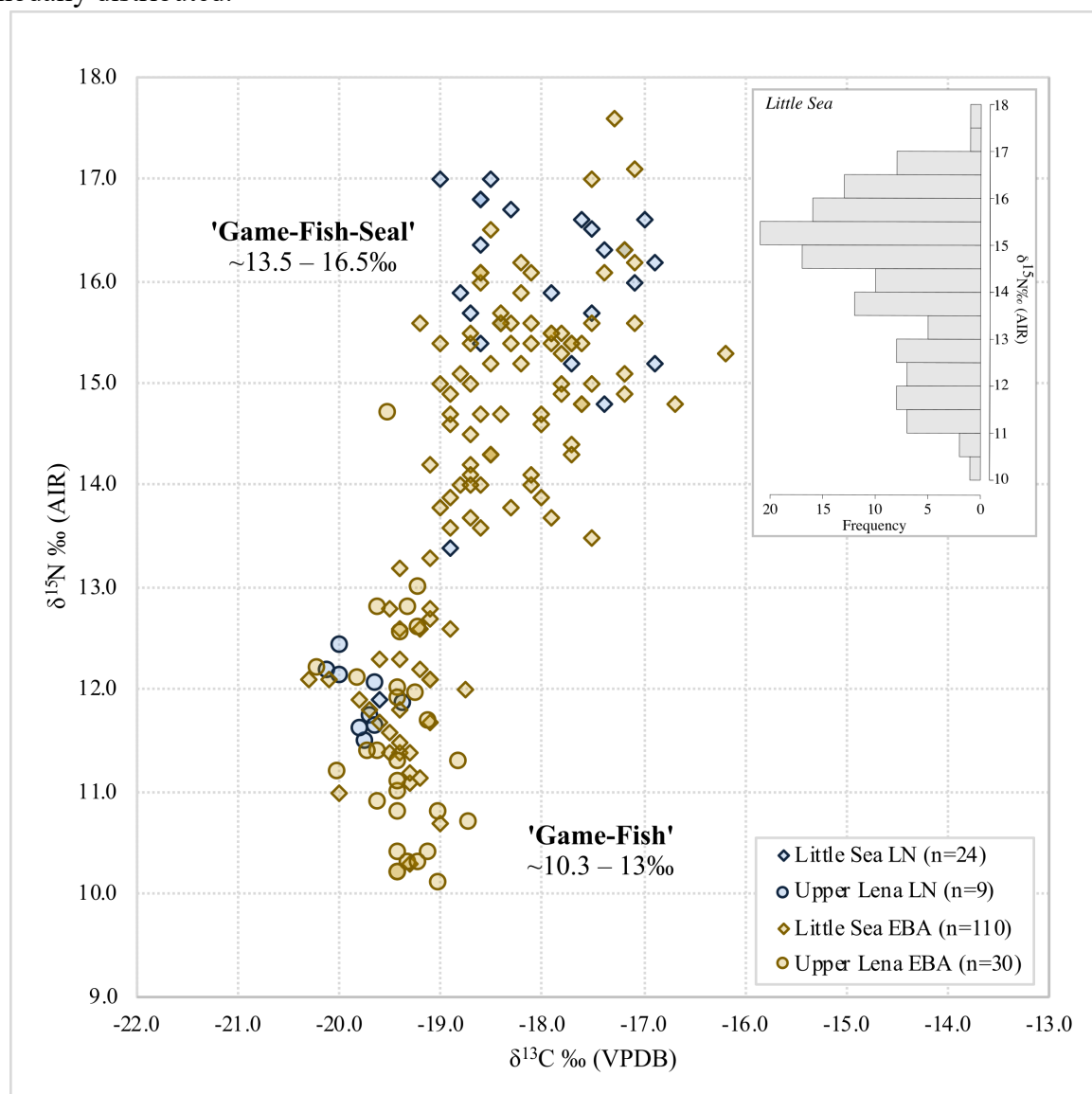
### 3.3. Previous research

Focusing on the two micro-regions directly relevant to this paper, stable isotope investigations have been carried out on many EBA individuals in the Little Sea and far fewer in the Upper Lena<sup>1</sup>. The Little Sea results indicate that inhabitants relied on cove and lagoon fish and seal in addition to terrestrial game. The LM/EN individuals in the Little Sea relied mainly on terrestrial mammals and littoral fish, but the EBA sees a conspicuous shift to two different contemporaneous dietary patterns (Weber and Bettinger, 2010; Weber and Goriunova, 2013; Weber et al., 2011). The 'Game-Fish-Seal' (GFS) ( $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  ca. 13.5–16.5‰;  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  ca. -18.0‰) diet is defined by a greater reliance on littoral lake fish and seals than the 'Game-Fish' diet ( $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  ca. 10.3–13.0‰;  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  ca. -19‰) (Figure 6). Though its sample size is considerably smaller, the intervening LN is clearly dominated by the GFS diet. In addition to the visual evidence for bimodality (see Figure 6 inset histogram), the distribution of the  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values for the EBA Little Sea dataset as a whole departs significantly from normality (Shapiro-Wilk test,  $p = 0.0005$ ,  $n = 110$ ), while the separate GF ( $p = 0.539$ ,  $n = 30$ ) and GFS ( $p = 0.290$ ,  $n = 80$ ) distributions do not.

---

<sup>1</sup> Most human samples were previously analysed at the University of Calgary, but have now been re-analysed at Oxford to make them more directly comparable, taking advantage of advances in stable isotope methods and instrumentation. The samples from Khuzhir-Nuge XIV used in section 6.2 are the only ones used in this study that have not yet been re-assessed. While this may affect individual results to a small degree (based on inter-laboratory comparisons), it should not impact significantly on the overall patterns in the data (Weber et al., 2016).

**Figure 6:** Game-Fish vs. Game-Fish-Seal dietary patterns in the Little Sea and Upper Lena during the LN and EBA currently in the BAP/BHAP database. The  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results for the Little Sea are bimodally distributed.



At Khuzhir-Nuge XIV, strontium isotope ( $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ ) analysis revealed that individuals identified as born locally all had GFS diets ( $n = 11$ ), whereas those identified as non-local ( $n = 13$ ) displayed both GF and GFS diets (Weber and Goriunova, 2013; Weber et al., 2011). Most non-local individuals had strontium isotopic ranges consistent with either the Angara or Upper Lena, though other areas yet to be characterised may exhibit similar ratios. Based on its proximity, the Upper Lena (~65 km north) has been proposed as their most probable origin.

However, recent examination of the Upper Lena's freshwater reservoir effect (FRE) suggests that this scenario may be more complicated (Schulting et al., 2015). The old carbon offset for EBA individuals with GF diets is significantly lower in the Little Sea ( $149 \pm 91$   $^{14}\text{C}$  yr,  $n = 7$ ) than for the Upper Lena ( $432 \pm 101$   $^{14}\text{C}$  yr,  $n = 6$ ) (Schulting et al., 2014). Thus, if non-local individuals from the Little Sea cemeteries with GF diets were in fact from the Upper Lena, they would have had to have changed their diet to one with a lower old carbon offset while avoiding the higher amounts of littoral fish and seal common to the GFS diet after arriving at the lake-side. It must be kept in mind that the nature of movement and contact between these two micro-regions was likely complex, and is only partially visible in the archaeological record. Since more research is needed regarding the FRE on the Upper Lena, for this study we provisionally propose that the Little Sea non-locals likely arrived there from that area.

## 4. Materials and Methods

### 4.1. Materials

The 63 individuals analysed in this study are from the skeletal collection housed at the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), St. Petersburg<sup>2</sup>. Samples were collected by RJS and AW in 2015 and prepared by JAW and staff at the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit (ORAU) for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ , and  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurement at the University of Oxford's Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art (RLAHA). AL conducted the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  analysis on the same samples in 2017 at RLAHA. (See Catalogue for sample details, and SI 3 for discrepancies noted between the written archaeological reports and the extant skeletal remains.)

### 4.2. Stable isotopic analysis

Bone samples were surface-cleaned using an aluminium oxide shotblaster. Forty-five samples weighing over 1g were sub-sampled and prepared separately for stable isotopic analyses in RLAHA's radiocarbon (ORAU) and palaeodiet laboratories. The preparation and measurement methods differ slightly, as detailed below. Nineteen were prepared and analysed using the ORAU protocol only, as insufficient material remained for both protocols.

All samples were ground and soaked in 0.5 M hydrochloric acid (HCl) at 5°C for approximately three days. Samples prepared using the palaeodiet protocols proceeded from this point to gelatinization. Those following the ORAU protocol received a base wash of 0.1 M sodium hydroxide (NaOH) intended to remove humic acids. Each acid/base wash was followed by multiple rinses with ultrapure (MilliQ) water. All samples were gelatinized in pH3 H<sub>2</sub>O for 24 hours before being sealed and heated at 70°C for three days. The supernatant was then filtered through an Ezeel-filter and freeze-dried until only 'collagen' remained. The ORAU samples in addition underwent ultrafiltration (30kD) to remove small molecular contaminants (Brock et al., 2010; 2007). Samples following the palaeodiet protocols were analysed in duplicate on a Sercon 20/22 Isotope Ratio Mass Spectrometer (IRMS), accompanied by alanine standards to correct for machine drift, and in-house standards of cow ( $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -24.21\text{‰}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N} = 8.00\text{‰}$ ) and seal ( $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -12.00\text{‰}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N} = 16.61\text{‰}$ ) collagen, referenced to international standards through repeated measurements at the laboratory. Those following the ORAU protocols were measured in the same IRMS alongside alanine and USGS40 and USGS41 standards.

The carbon and nitrogen isotopic values reported here are the averages of the duplicate runs, drift-corrected, and calibrated relative to the international standards for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  (VPDB) and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  (AIR) using a two-point calibration supplied by the in-house standards for the palaeodiet samples, and a three-point calibration using alanine, USGS40 and USGS41 for the ORAU samples (cf. Coplen, 2011). Measurement precision is on the order of  $\pm 0.2\text{‰}$  for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  based on repeated analyses of the standards. Collagen quality was assessed following widely accepted criteria (Ambrose, 1990; DeNiro, 1985; van Klinken, 1999).

Stable oxygen isotope analysis was undertaken on the same collagen preparation used for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ , using 21 samples from Verkholensk and 12 from Ulan Khada (see further details in SI 4.1). Importantly, these samples were prepared at the same time and remained thereafter in

---

<sup>2</sup> Most of the individuals had age and sex information published in the Russian literature reviewed earlier, though these are not always reliable. RJS re-examined the skeletons and provisionally assigned new age and sex determinations based on the available material, which in many cases was quite limited.

sealed tubes. Approximately 0.5 mg of material was weighed out into silver capsules for analysis on a Sercon 20/22 IRMS. Results were calibrated to VSMOW against human hair standards USGS42 and USGS43, with a measurement error during the runs of ca.  $\pm 0.23\%$ .

### 4.3. Radiocarbon dating

The standard bone collagen pretreatment method for radiocarbon analysis is outlined in Brock et al. (2010; 2007) and summarized above. Measurements were corrected for the freshwater reservoir effect (FRE) for each micro-region using linear regression formulae based on paired radiocarbon dating of human and terrestrial animal teeth from the same graves (Table 2). The human  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results provide estimates of the amount of aquatic resources in the diet, which in turn are used to estimate the extent of the FRE for each individual. Radiocarbon dates for four children less than age five were not corrected, since any residual nursing effect could invalidate the regression equation.

**Table 2:** FRE correction formulae, where ‘s.d.’ = error term of the  $^{14}\text{C}$  determination and ‘S’ = standard deviation of the residuals from the linear regression model.

| Source  | Formula  |
|---|--|
| 1. “Little Sea, $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ & $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ” (Schulting et al. 2014) | $-3329.5 - 125.6 (\delta^{13}\text{C}) + 95.1 (\delta^{15}\text{N})$ |
| 2. “Upper Lena, $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ & $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ” (Schulting et al. 2015) | $-4289.9 - 211.2 (\delta^{13}\text{C}) + 45.4 (\delta^{15}\text{N})$ |
| 3. “SW Baikal/Angara” (Schulting et al. 2014)   | $-1388.9 + 125.5 (\delta^{15}\text{N})$                              |
| Adjusted Error Range (Weber et al. 2016)  | $\sqrt{(\text{s. d.})^2 + S^2}$                                      |

FRE-corrected radiocarbon dates were calibrated in OxCal v.4.3.2 using the IntCal13 northern hemisphere atmospheric calibration curve (Bronk Ramsey, 2009; Reimer et al., 2013). The conventional  $^{14}\text{C}$  yr, FRE offsets, and calibrated dates (95.4% range, mean, and sigma) are all reported in the Catalogue (SI).

### 4.4. Data Analysis

Statistical analyses were conducted using IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) 24.0. Data were assessed for normality using Shapiro-Wilk tests, and then analysed using parametric or non-parametric statistics as appropriate (further details in SI 5). Heteroscedastic t-tests were used when the data did not depart significantly from normality, but the variance of one group was  $\geq$  twice that of the other. Outliers are defined as any value greater than 1.5 x the Inter-Quartile Range (IQR).

## 5. Results

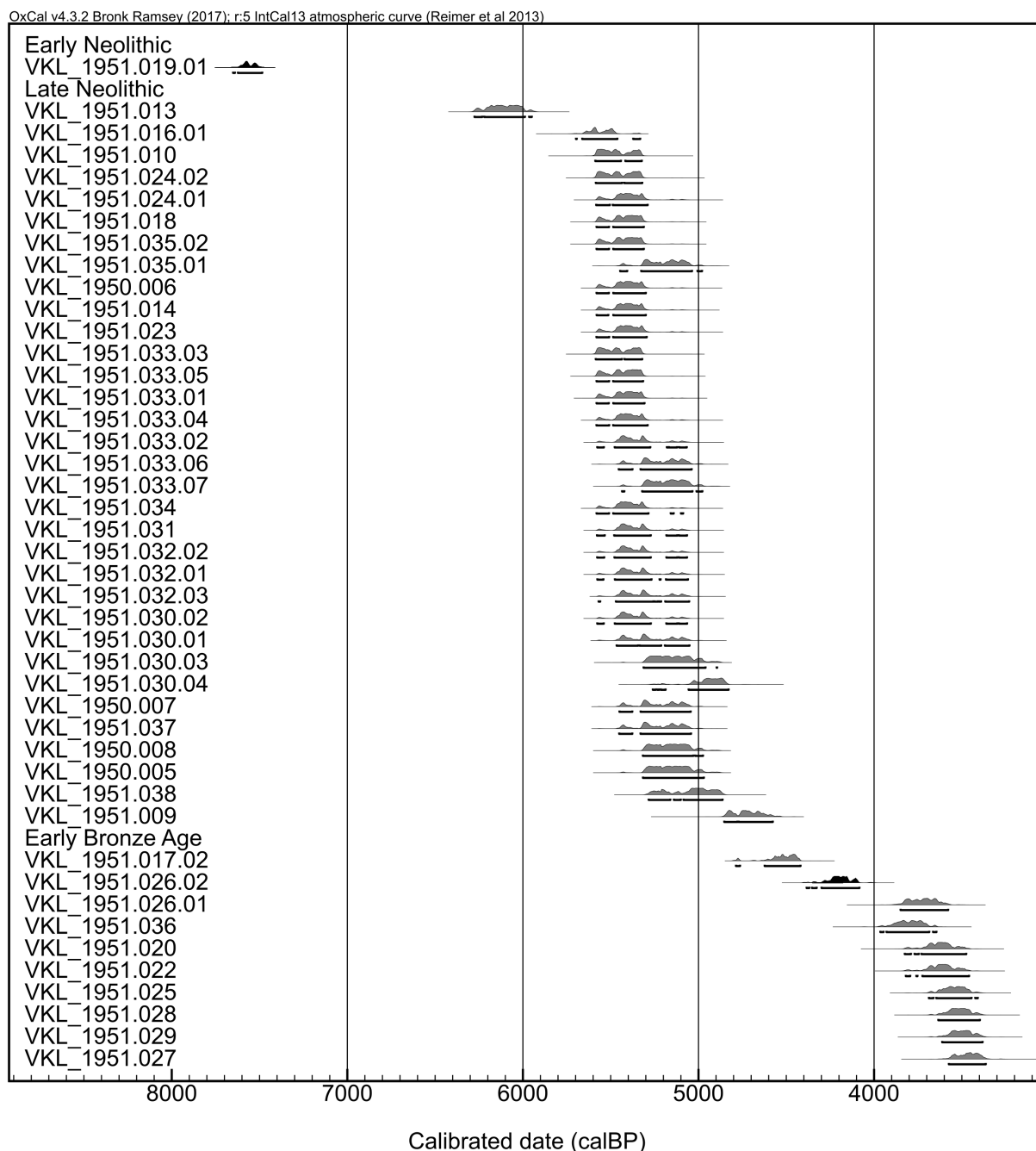
All samples provided well-preserved collagen with yields greater than 1% (averaging  $7.9 \pm 3.6\%$ ) and atomic weight C to N ratios ranging from 3.2 to 3.4 (averaging  $3.2 \pm 0.05$ ), well within accepted standards for stable isotope and  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses (Ambrose, 1990; DeNiro, 1985; van Klinken, 1999). The  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values obtained from the two preparation methods described above were statistically indistinguishable (see SI 6), and they were therefore averaged for the 45 samples for which both were available, such that the reported values are the average of five measurements. One individual (VKL\_1951.017.02) was sampled twice using two different

skeletal elements. The isotopic results were averaged and the radiocarbon dates (OxA-33883 and 33884) were combined in OxCal 4.2.

### *5.1. Radiocarbon dating and typological assessments*

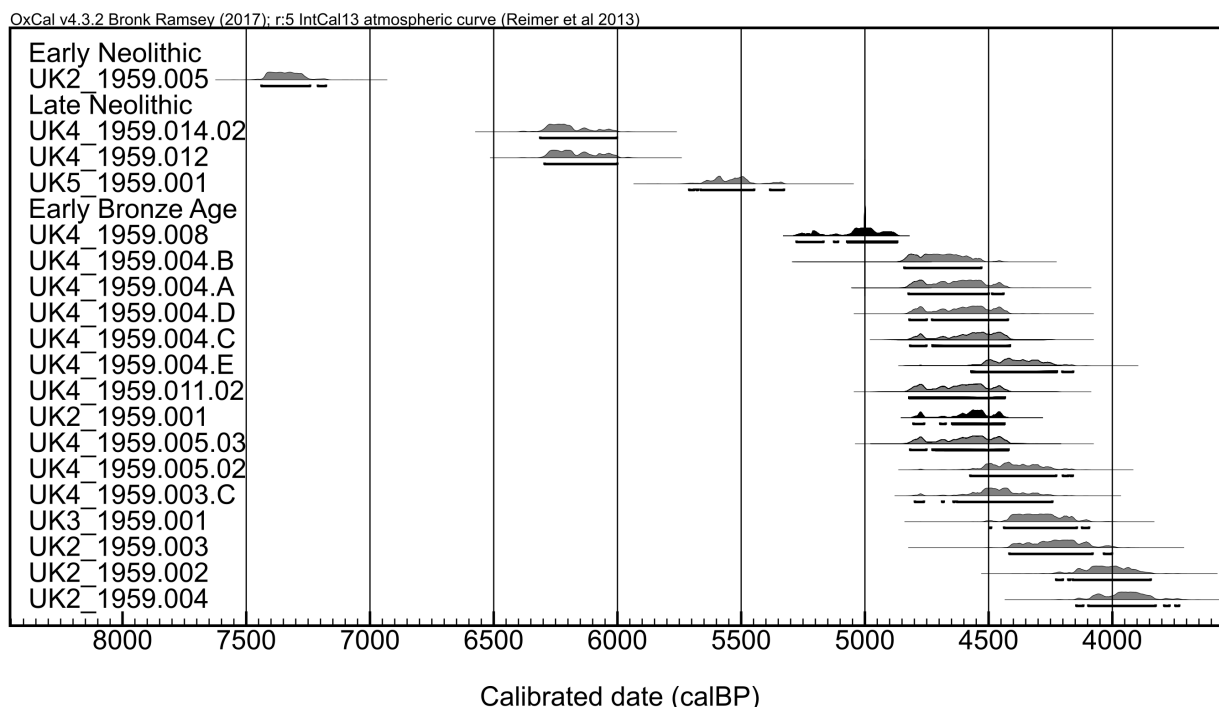
Okladnikov's (1978) typological classification suggested the presence of only LN and EBA graves at Verkholsk. Nevertheless, the radiocarbon determinations identify at least two graves as much earlier. The first, Grave 19, dates to the late EN (Figure 7). The second, Grave 13, falls within what is now within the boundaries of the MN and is noteworthy as being the only burial at Verkholsk oriented to the south and lacking grave goods. However, the lower boundary of the LN is based upon only 22 radiocarbon dates and may shift with further analysis (Weber et al., 2016). Therefore, this individual is provisionally classified as 'LN' pending further study. With one exception, there is a gap of over 500 years between the LN burials and those dating to the EBA. Although the cemetery was not excavated in its entirety, based on the available evidence it seems that it was used discontinuously. Additionally, all double and multiple burials from Verkholsk produced dates that were consistent with single burial events, except for Grave 30 (see Catalogue for R\_Combine results). Grave 30 contained five individuals (four adults and one child) of which we sampled four adults. Okladnikov (1978) believed that all were buried at the same time, but the  $^{14}\text{C}$  results suggest at least two burial episodes. Further work on the Upper Lena FRE correction will allow us to revisit this conclusion in the future.

**Figure 7:** FRE-corrected (Table 2, Formula 2) radiocarbon dates from post-weaning age individuals from Verkholensk (see Catalogue). Note that VKL\_1951.19.01 and VKL\_1951.026.02 are young children and their radiocarbon dates (in black) were not FRE-corrected and therefore appear older.



As expected based on the original typological assignments, most burials from Ulan-Khada date to the EBA, with the main phase of use spanning ca. 5200 to 4000 cal BP (Figure 8). Two individuals (Graves 12 and 14.02) fall well before the beginning of the LN as currently understood, though, as noted above, there is uncertainty regarding this boundary (Weber et al., 2016). Lastly, the only burial dating to the EN (Grave 5) was located slightly apart from the other graves in sector II (Figure 4).

**Figure 8:** FRE corrected (Table 2, Formula 1) Radiocarbon results from post-weaning age individuals from Ulan-Khada (see Catalogue). Note that UK4\_1959.008 and UK2\_1959.001 are young children and their radiocarbon dates (in black) were not FRE-corrected and therefore appear older.



The presence of a few clear outliers in the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results from Verkholsensk and Ulan-Khada presents an issue in the FRE corrections applied. Some individuals' isotopic values fall closer to those of other micro-regions. Specifically, one individual from Grave 33 at Verkholsensk had values approaching the GFS diet range of the Little Sea (i.e., higher  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values), while the three LN individuals from Ulan-Khada have values that fall within the LN-EBA range of the Angara micro-region (i.e., higher  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and lower  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ) (discussed below and illustrated in Figures 12 and 13). The latter are not only outliers at Ulan-Khada, but for the entire Little Sea. If these individuals were recent migrants and do not have the same old carbon offset as those from the area in which they were buried, the question arises as to whether the FRE equations developed for the Little Sea and Angara, respectively, are more appropriate (Schulting et al., 2014). In any case, applying the FRE correction for the regions that best match their stable isotopic results in differences of less than 300 years that, while certainly significant, do not alter the cultural period assignments (Catalogue and Table 2).

## 5.2. Stable Isotope results

All statistical analyses were carried out on individuals aged approximately five and older to avoid nursing effects and the possibility of different diets in early childhood (Tables 3–4; Figures 9–10). The results of the post-weaning individuals from LN Verkholsensk include two outliers in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and four in  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  (in one case the same individual is involved), greater than 1.5 times the IQR (in bold in the Catalogue). The  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values are normally distributed once these outliers are removed, and show no correlation ( $r^2 = -0.074$ ,  $p = 0.67$ ). Notably, four of the five individuals formally identified as outliers are from LN Grave 33. An additional individual from Grave 33 is also more elevated in  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  than all but the abovementioned outliers at Verkholsensk (see box on Figure 9). Thus, five of the seven individuals from Grave 33 stand out, exhibiting higher  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values than all of the remaining LN individuals (Figure 9). The LN individuals at Verkholsensk, even excluding Grave 33, show higher  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values ( $12.02 \pm 0.56\text{‰}$ ,  $n = 23$ ) than the EBA individuals ( $11.23 \pm 0.55\text{‰}$ ,  $n = 8$ ) (Student's  $t$ -test,  $df = 29$ ,  $t = 3.460$ ,  $p =$

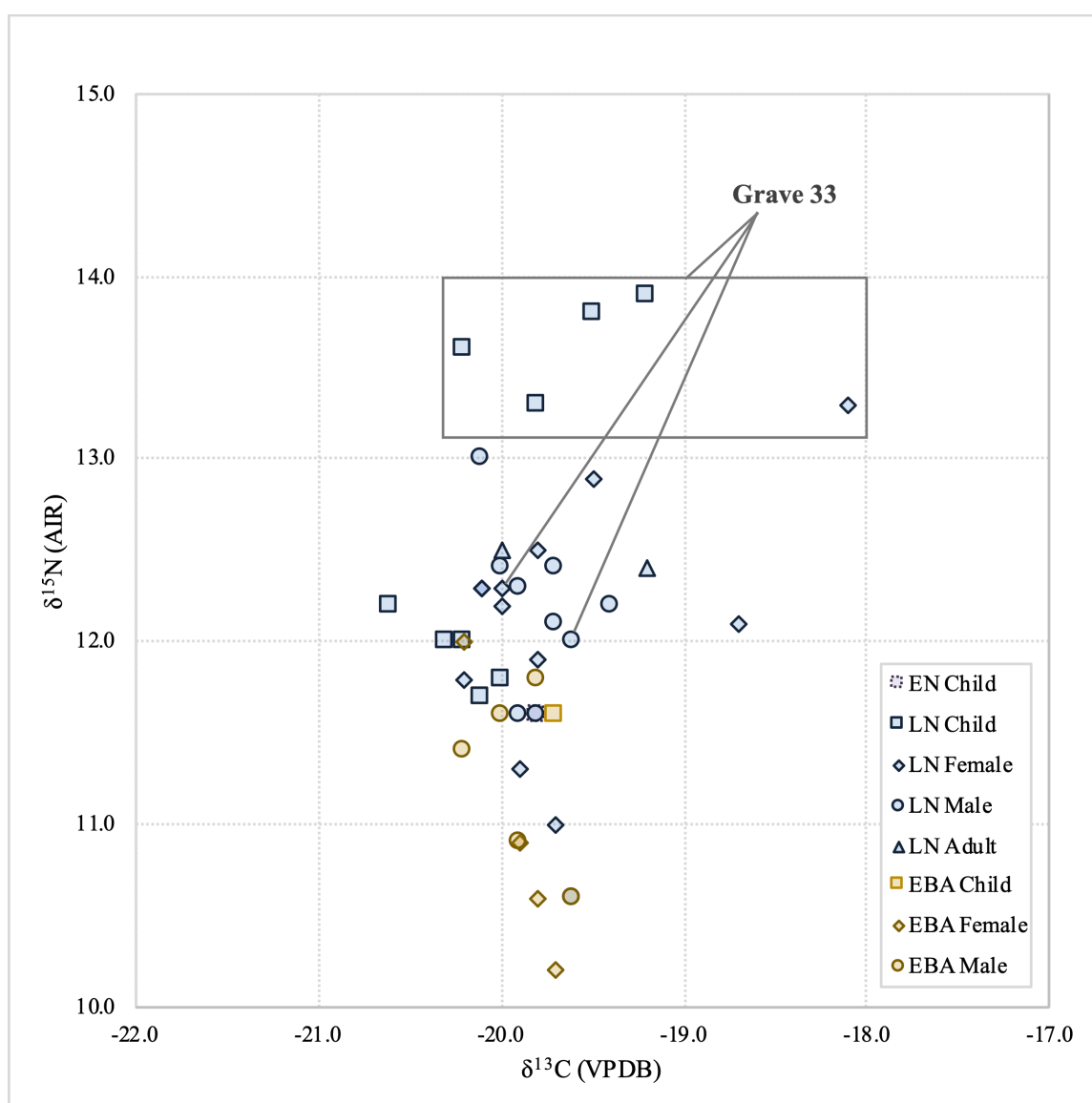
0.002). This is reinforced by the fact that  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values and mean date cal BP are positively correlated (Spearman's rank-order,  $r^2 = 0.522$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ). Including Grave 33 only accentuates this difference.

**Table 3:** Descriptive statistics for Verkholensk isotopic data.

| <i>Verkholensk</i>    |                       |                       |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Statistic</i>      | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ |
|                       | Age $\geq 5$          |                       | All ages              |                       |
| <b>N</b>              | 42                    |                       | 44                    |                       |
| <b>Mean</b>           | -19.8                 | 12.0                  | -19.8                 | 12.0                  |
| <b>Median</b>         | -19.9                 | 12.1                  | -19.9                 | 12.0                  |
| <b>Std. Deviation</b> | 0.4                   | 0.9                   | 0.4                   | 0.8                   |
| <b>Minimum</b>        | -20.6                 | 10.2                  | -20.6                 | 10.2                  |
| <b>Maximum</b>        | -18.1                 | 13.9                  | -18.1                 | 13.9                  |



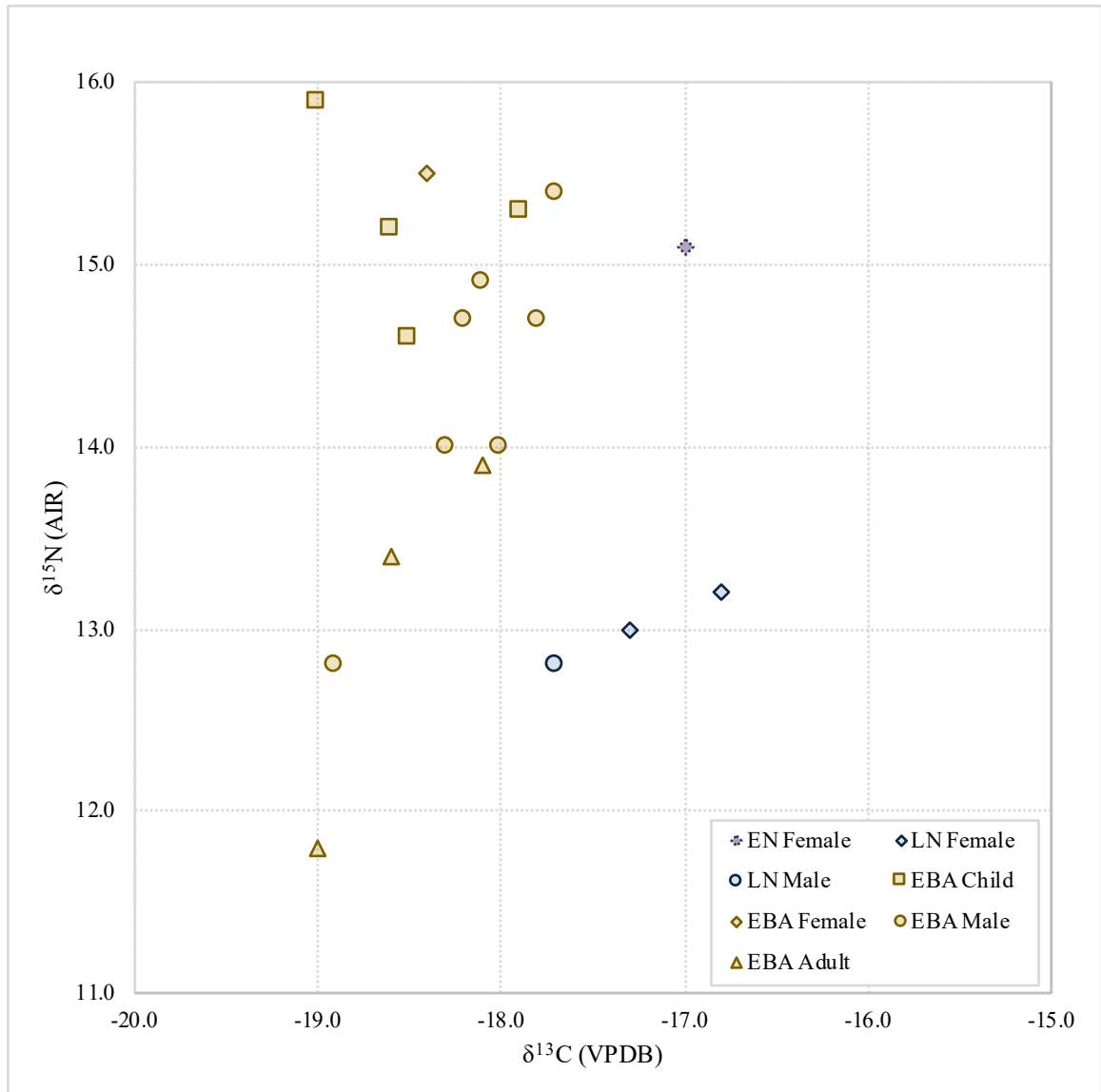
**Figure 9:** Isotopic values from Verkholensk differentiated by time period and sex. Individuals from LN Grave 33 are identified by the box and lines.



**Table 4:** Descriptive statistics for Ulan-Khada isotopic data.

| <i>Ulan-Khada</i>     |                       |                       |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Statistic</i>      | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ |
|                       | Age $\geq 5$          |                       | All ages              |                       |
| <b>N</b>              | 17                    |                       | 19                    |                       |
| <b>Mean</b>           | -18.1                 | 14.1                  | -18.1                 | 14.2                  |
| <b>Median</b>         | -18.1                 | 14.0                  | -18.1                 | 14.6                  |
| <b>Std. Deviation</b> | 0.6                   | 1.1                   | 0.6                   | 1.1                   |
| <b>Minimum</b>        | -19.0                 | 11.8                  | -19.0                 | 11.8                  |
| <b>Maximum</b>        | -16.8                 | 15.5                  | -16.8                 | 15.9                  |

**Figure 10:** Isotopic values from Ulan-Khada differentiated by time period and sex.

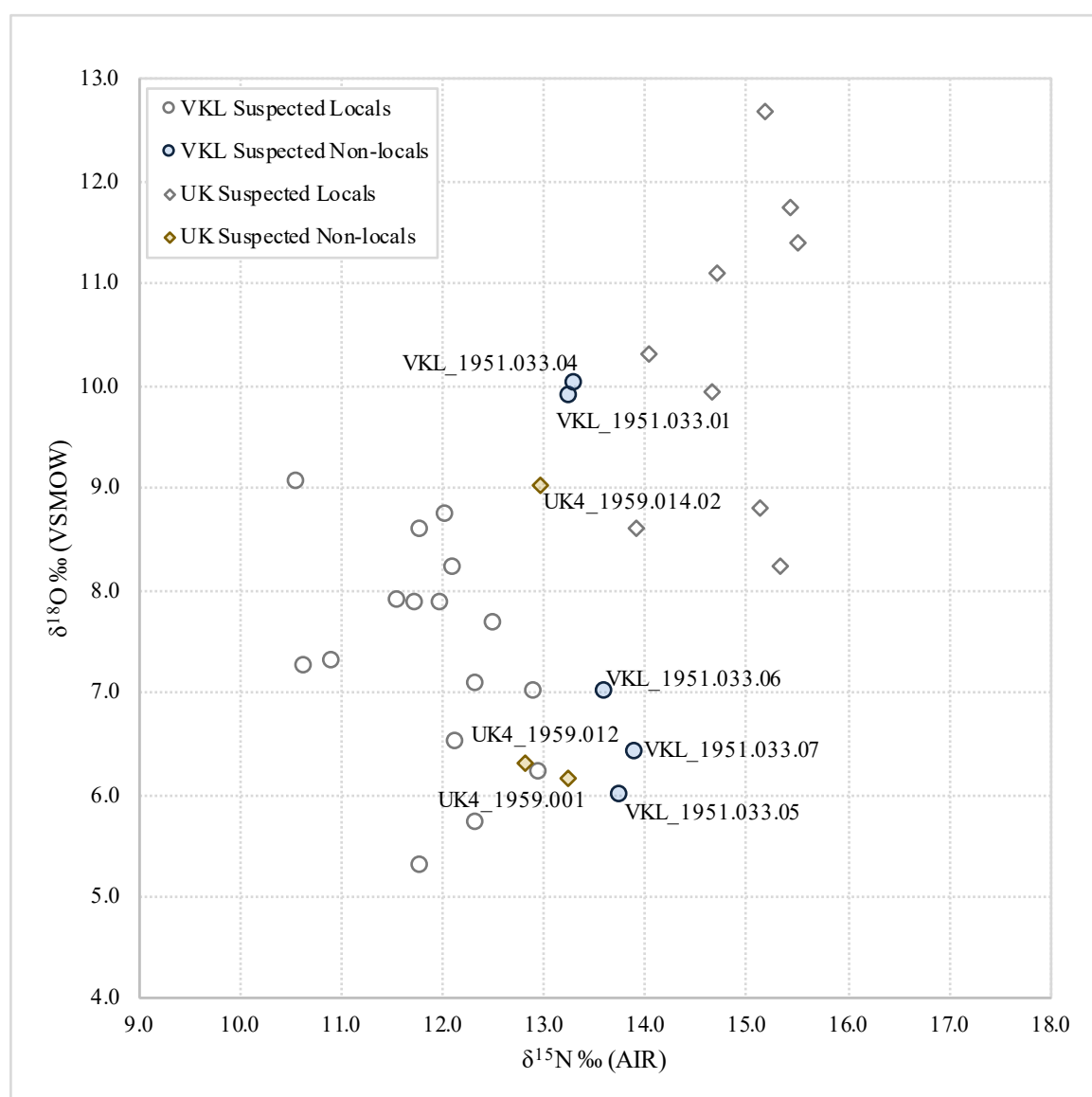


At Ulan-Khada post-weaning individuals of all periods considered together (EN, LN, and EBA) show normally distributed  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values, with no significant correlation ( $r^2 = 0.152$ ,  $p = 0.593$ ). However, the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values are correlated with mean cal BP dates (Spearman's rank-order,  $r^2 = 0.705$ ,  $p = 0.002$ ), reflecting a more  $^{13}\text{C}$ -depleted diet over time. The EBA considered on its own is also normally distributed with one  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  outlier (UK4\_1959.005.02). The three LN samples fall outside of the EBA range at Ulan-Khada (Figure 10). The single EN sample is higher in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  ( $-17.0\text{‰}$ ) than the EBA samples ( $-18.3 \pm 0.4\text{‰}$ ) and higher in  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  ( $15.1\text{‰}$ ) than the LN samples ( $13.0 \pm 0.2\text{‰}$ ). Due to small sample size and poor preservation limiting osteological assessment of sex, it is not possible to assess sex-based dietary differences during the EBA.

Stable oxygen isotope results from both sites are normally distributed. While there is a degree of overlap, the site means of  $7.5 \pm 1.3\text{‰}$  at Verkholsk and  $9.5 \pm 2.1\text{‰}$  at Ulan-Khada differ significantly (heteroscedastic  $t = 3.095$ ,  $p = 0.007$ ) (Figure 11). In addition, two of the five outliers from Grave 33 at Verkholsk identified on the basis of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results are also outliers in  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ , as are two of the three LN individuals at Ulan Khada that taken as a group differ markedly in their  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values from the EBA individuals. Removing the four outlier  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values from the analysis results in an even clearer distinction between the sites (Verkholsk:  $7.24 \pm 1.10\text{‰}$ ; Ulan-Khada:  $10.19 \pm 2.28\text{‰}$ ; heteroscedastic  $t = 5.51$ ,  $\text{df} = 14$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ ). While they are more variable, the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  Z-scores associated with the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  outliers ( $1.69 \pm 0.86$ ) are

on average significantly higher than those of the remaining measurements ( $0.80 \pm 0.29$ ; heteroscedastic  $t = 2.573$ ,  $p = 0.030$ ). Furthermore, the difference of 2.9‰ between these two means is broadly in keeping, in both direction and magnitude, with a difference of ca. 3.8‰ documented in  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  between the waters of Lake Baikal and those of the Lena (Seal and Shanks, 1998, Table 1). Despite the degree of exchange with atmospheric and liquid waters in the laboratory that undoubtedly occurred (von Holstein et al., 2018), this must still partly reflect a biogenic signal. There is no other reasonable explanation for this pattern. We are thus confident that, within the limitations of a pilot study, the data are meaningful and interpretable. See SI 4.2 for further details on the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  results.

**Figure 11:** Bone collagen  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  (2017 analysis) and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  (2016 analysis) values for individuals interred at Verkholensk and Ulan-Khada. Individuals suspected of being non-local to the site based on  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results are highlighted and their Master ID's provided. Those from Verkholensk are all from Grave 33 (see box on Figure 9).

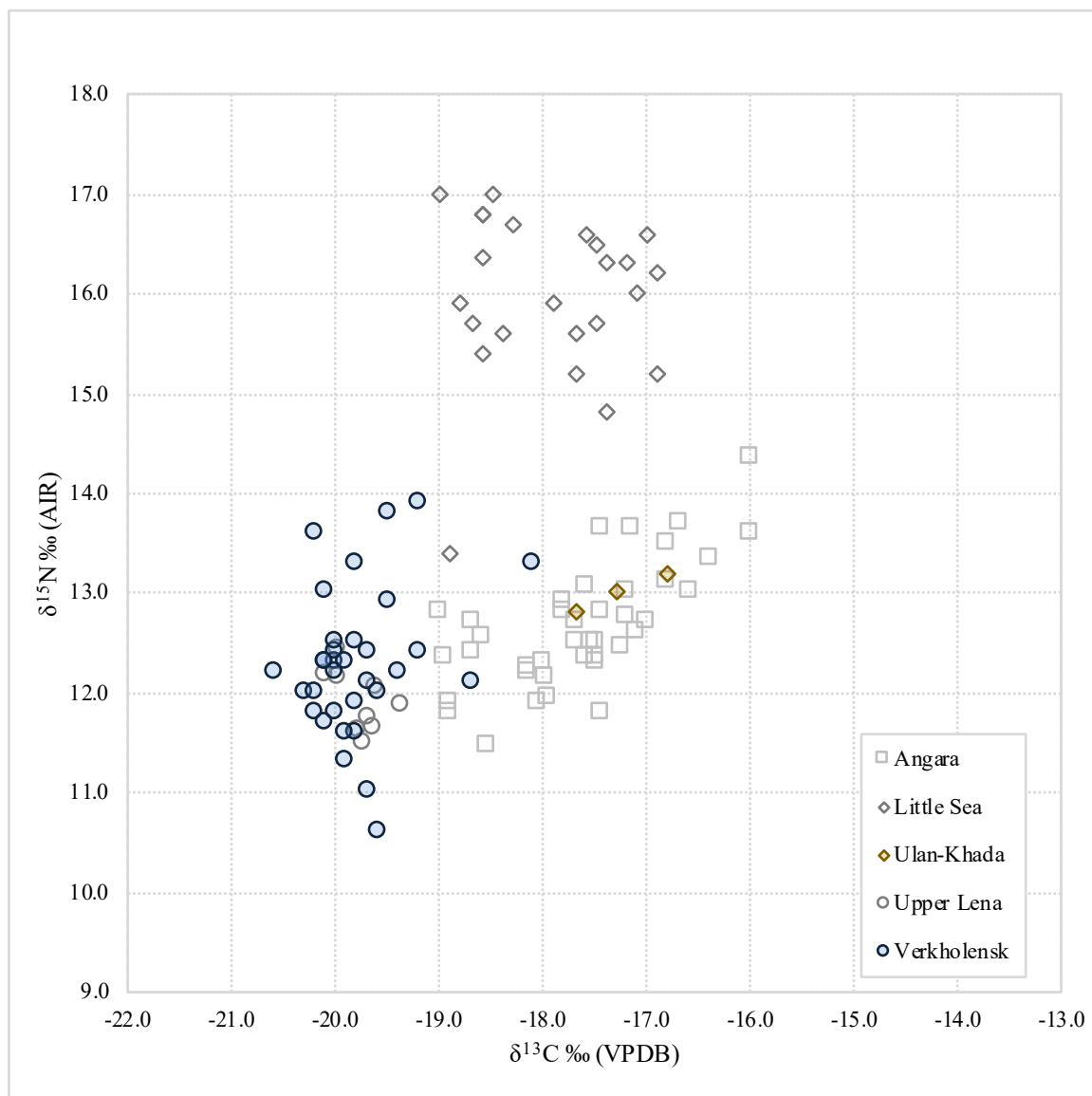


## 6. Discussion

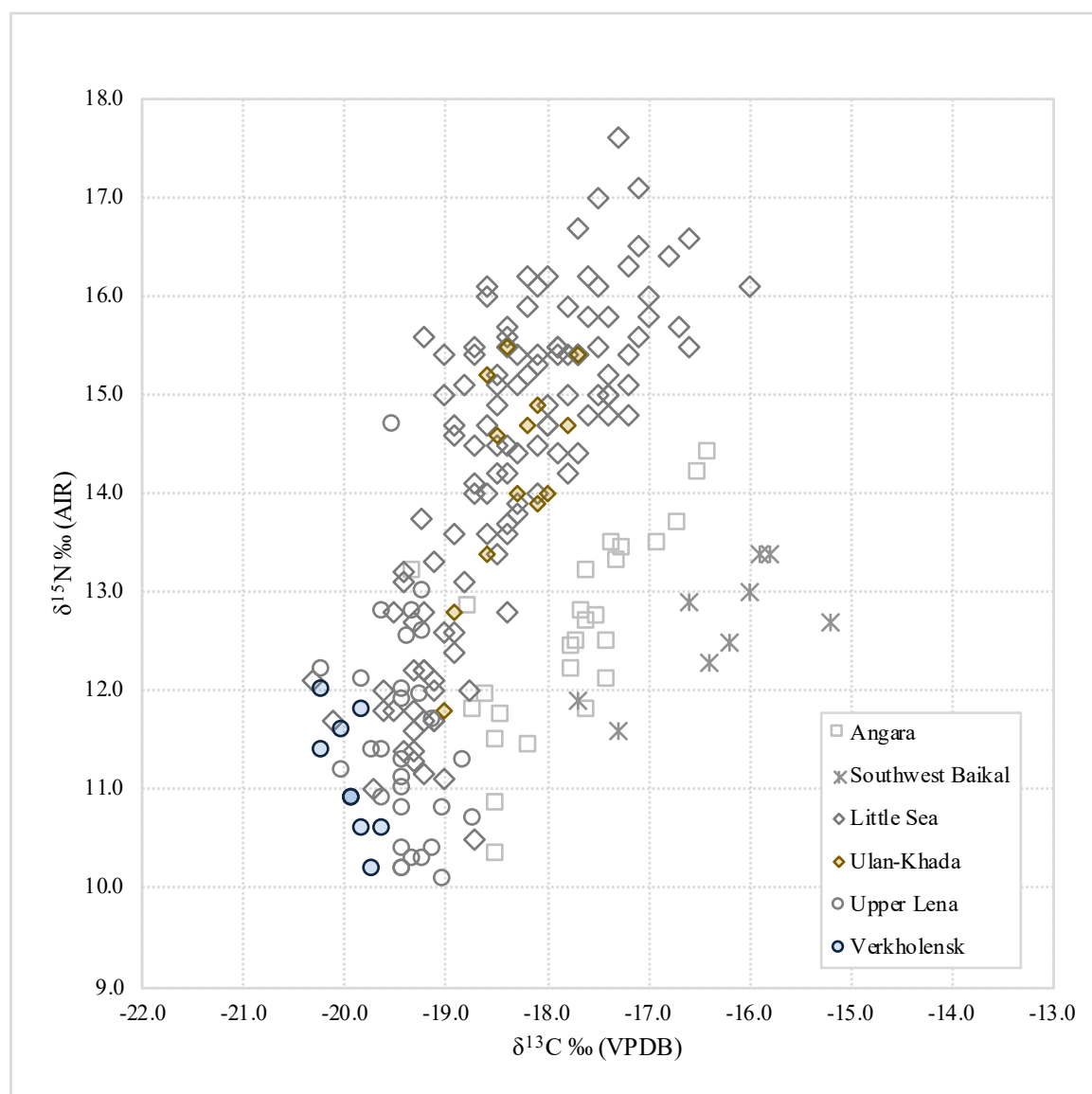
Interpretation of this study's results is undertaken within the context of previous isotopic research in Cis-Baikal (Figures 12 and 13). The discussion focuses on the isotopic and dietary

changes between the LN and EBA at Verkholsensk, Verkholsensk Grave 33, the differences between EBA isotopic values from Verkholsensk and Obkhoi, LN outliers at Ulan-Khada, the Little Sea GF and GFS diets, and the difference in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  between EBA Little Sea females and males with GFS diets.

**Figure 12:** All post-weaning human LN isotopic data in the BHAP database compared to the data in this study.



**Figure 13:** All post-weaning human EBA isotopic data in the BHAP database compared to the data in this study.



### 6.1. Verkholsk and the Upper Lena

The analysis of the individuals from Verkholsk has considerably added to our knowledge of LN and EBA stable isotope and dietary variation in the Upper Lena, making it possible to examine trends spatiotemporally both within and outside of this micro-region (Table 5).

**Table 5:** Summary of stable isotope data for all individuals aged  $\geq 5$  in the Upper Lena by site and period (other site data after Weber et al., 2016).

*Upper Lena*

| Site            | LM/EN |                       |     |                       |     | LN |                       |     |                       |     | EBA |                       |     |                       |     |
|-----------------|-------|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|----|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
|                 | n     | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ |     | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ |     | n  | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ |     | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ |     | n   | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ |     | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ |     |
|                 |       | $\bar{x}$             | s   | $\bar{x}$             | s   |    | $\bar{x}$             | s   | $\bar{x}$             | s   |     | $\bar{x}$             | s   | $\bar{x}$             | s   |
| Borki           |       |                       |     |                       |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 4   | -19.2                 | 0.4 | 11.0                  | 0.6 |
| Iushino I       | 2     | -19.7                 |     | 11.9                  |     |    |                       |     |                       |     |     |                       |     |                       |     |
| Makarovovo      |       |                       |     |                       |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 1   | -19.6                 |     | 11.4                  |     |
| Makrushino      | 1     | -19.8                 |     | 10.8                  |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 2   | -19.4                 |     | 13.9                  |     |
| Manzurka        | 1     | -19.1                 |     | 12.3                  |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 1   | -19.2                 |     | 12.6                  |     |
| Nikolskii Grot  |       |                       |     |                       |     | 4  | -19.8                 | 0.1 | 11.7                  | 0.3 |     |                       |     |                       |     |
| Obkhoi          |       |                       |     |                       |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 12  | -19.3                 | 0.3 | 10.6                  | 0.4 |
| Popovskii Lug 2 | 1     | -19.8                 |     | 12.4                  |     |    |                       |     |                       |     |     |                       |     |                       |     |
| Turuka          | 3     | -20.3                 | 0.2 | 13.0                  | 0.3 |    |                       |     |                       |     |     |                       |     |                       |     |
| Ulus Khalskii   |       |                       |     |                       |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 1   | -19.4                 |     | 12.6                  |     |
| Ust'-Iamnaia    |       |                       |     |                       |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 2   | -19.6                 |     | 11.6                  |     |
| Verkholsensk    |       |                       |     |                       |     | 33 | -19.8                 | 0.5 | 12.3                  | 0.7 | 9   | -19.9                 | 0.2 | 11.1                  | 0.6 |
| Zakuta          |       |                       |     |                       |     | 4  | -19.8                 | 0.3 | 12.1                  | 0.2 |     |                       |     |                       |     |
| Zapleskino      |       |                       |     |                       |     | 1  | -19.6                 |     | 11.6                  |     |     |                       |     |                       |     |

In a pattern not seen at any single location in Cis-Baikal previously, the Verkholsk  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results indicate a shift to slightly but significantly greater reliance on terrestrial resources during the EBA compared to the LN. This may relate to human adaptations to an underlying environmental change: the LN burials fall within a relatively cool period, whereas the EBA component falls within a warmer and drier period, between ca. 4000 and 3000 cal BP (Bezrukova et al., 2013, 2014; Mayewski et al., 2004). The resulting more open landscape would have supported a greater abundance of game, allowing for the EBA group to focus more on higher-ranked terrestrial resources, such as roe and red deer (cf. Weber and Bettinger, 2010). These resources might have been even more appealing along the Lena River as it is less productive than the other main waterways in the other Lake Baikal micro-regions (Weber and Bettinger, 2010). Additionally, it is worth noting that, although it is problematic to relate grave goods directly to subsistence practices, the LN graves at Verkholsk contain considerably more fishing gear than the EBA graves. Eleven graves from the LN contained fishing tools and, occasionally, representations of fish, while two graves were found to have net-impressed pottery sherds. There were only four LN graves (10, 23, 31, and 38; 12%) without any fishing-related objects. Conversely, only one out of nine (11%) EBA graves (Grave 22) contained fishing-related material: a bone carving of a fish.

### 6.1.2. Grave 33

LN Grave 33 deserves particular attention. It contained one young adult male, one mid-adult female, one adolescent female, and four children aged 6 to 10.<sup>3</sup> While the radiocarbon dates for these individuals are consistent with one burial event, this is inconclusive given the tight chronological grouping of all the LN burials at the site. More telling are their distinctive stable isotopic values, which warrant further discussion. The mid-adult female in Grave 33 is isotopically

<sup>3</sup> See SI 7 for a note on the number of individuals attributed to Grave 33.

distinct from all other individuals at Verkholensk, with values ( $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -18.1\text{‰}$ ;  $\delta^{15}\text{N} = 13.3\text{‰}$ ) approaching the lower boundary of the Little Sea GFS range. Moreover, three of the four children attributed to Grave 33 are outliers within the LN  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values and all four have higher  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values ( $13.7 \pm 0.3\text{‰}$ ) than other LN individuals from Verkholensk ( $12.0 \pm 0.5\text{‰}$ ). Given their ages, even residual nursing effects can be excluded.

One possible explanation for the variable isotopic values from Grave 33 is that the adult female and children originated from the Little Sea and were still in the process of acquiring the Upper Lena isotopic signal. The children would have done so more quickly than the adult female due to higher bone turnover rates. Nevertheless, their  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values are similar to those of the LN Verkholensk individuals and are not as high as those in the GFS range. An alternative explanation is that they were consuming a significantly greater quantity of aquatic foods, possibly replicating a more fish-based Little Sea diet. Yet, if this was the case and if the grave contained related individuals, then it would be odd that the male and adolescent female's isotopic values were indistinguishable from the rest of the Verkholensk individuals. The bone collagen  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  results from these suspected 'non-local' individuals, confirms that only one of the children, aged 8-10 years old, was probably non-local (VKL\_1951.033.04), together with the mid-adult female (see SI 4), with both exhibiting higher  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  ratios consistent with those seen at Ulan-Khada on the Little Sea. Interpretation of Grave 33 is complex and further work, including ancient DNA and strontium isotopic analyses, is required, but it may be tentatively proposed to consist of a family unit – perhaps a local father, a mother from the Little Sea, a local second wife or child, and four children.

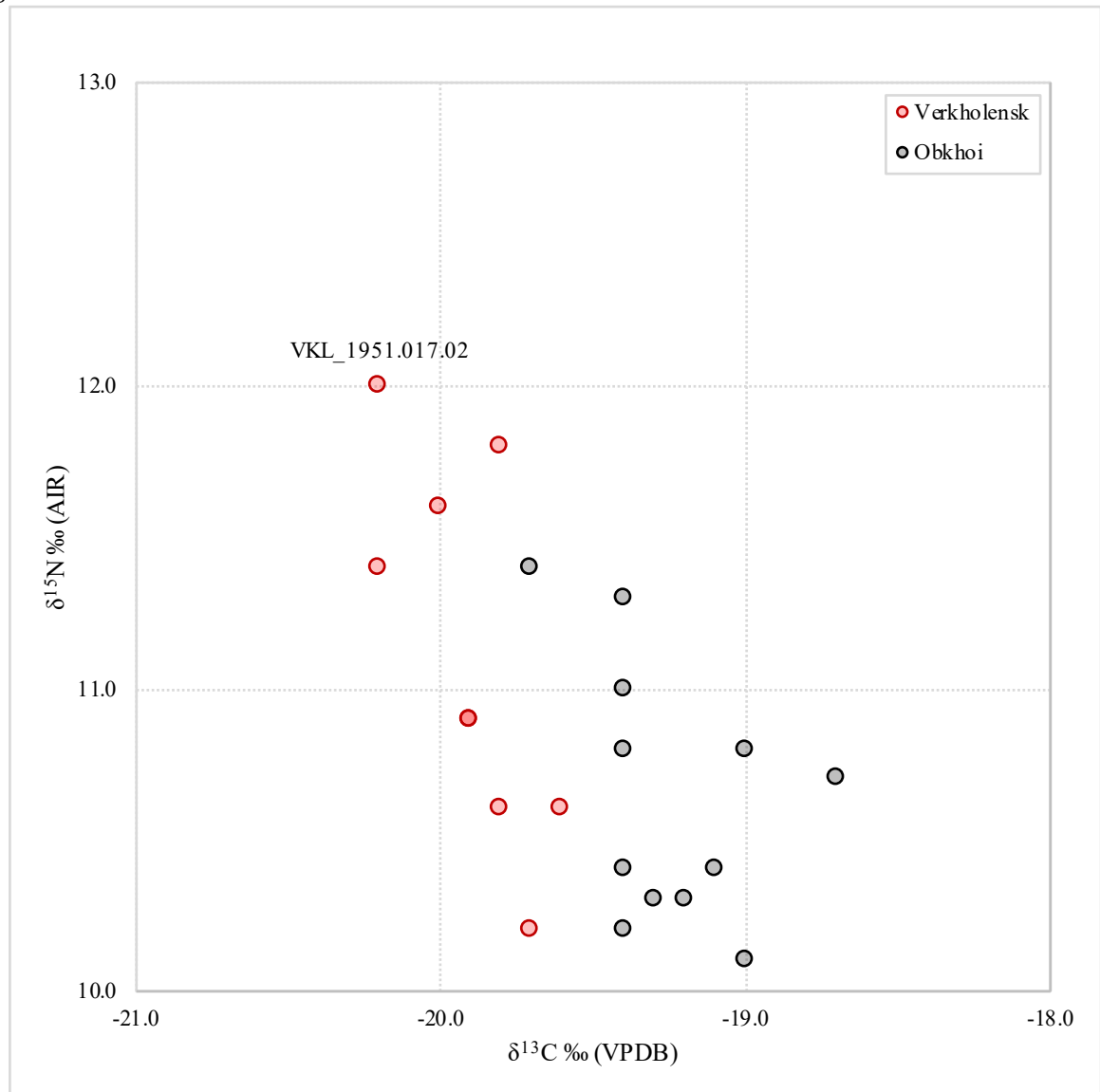
### 6.1.3. *Verkholensk and Obkhoi*

The cemetery of Obkhoi, located on a small tributary of the Lena, the Kulgana River, is the only EBA cemetery with a sufficient sample size to compare to Verkholensk (Figure 1). Despite being only approximately 17 km apart, Obkhoi exhibits higher  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  ( $-19.3 \pm 0.3\text{‰}$ ) and lower  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values ( $10.6 \pm 0.4\text{‰}$ ) than Verkholensk ( $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ :  $-19.9 \pm 0.2\text{‰}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ :  $11.1 \pm 0.6\text{‰}$ ; Student's  $t$ -tests,  $df = 19$ ,  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ,  $t = -6.099$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ,  $t = 2.063$ ,  $p = 0.053$ ) (Table 5, Figure 14). Furthermore, the differences are large enough to be considered meaningful, with Cohen's  $d$  statistics of 2.35 for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and 0.98 for  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  (Cohen, 1988). Given their proximity, and the fact that the tributary feeds into the main river, it is unlikely that there are any appreciable differences in the isotopic baselines between Lena and Kulgana fish. Therefore, the results should reflect distinct subsistence practices. Fish in the Upper Lena are the most  $^{13}\text{C}$ -depleted aquatic fauna (ca.  $-26.0\text{‰}$ ) currently known from Cis-Baikal, while their  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values are on par with fish from other rivers and Lake Baikal. Terrestrial herbivores in the Baikal region display typical  $\text{C}_3$  isotope values of ca.  $-21.3\text{‰}$  for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and ca.  $5.7\text{‰}$  for  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  (Katzenberg et al., 2012). The Kulgana fishery would be less productive than the Lena, but the area around Obkhoi is more open and hence might have provided better opportunities for hunting terrestrial game, particularly deer.

In ethnographic studies of hunter-gatherers, it has been much debated how sharing, exchange, and land tenure (or territoriality) practices unfold or are structured within different environments and/or subsistence practices (Kelly 2013). Given the diversity of environments in which hunter-gatherers live, unsurprisingly their practices vary considerably, ranging from socially negotiated sharing to the maintenance and active defence of exclusive rights to resources (Baker, 2003; Kroeber, 1925; Layton, 1986; Leacock and Rothschild, 1994; Teit, 1930). Stable isotopic approaches offer a means of tackling this issue in prehistoric hunter-gatherers, informing on the long-term use of dietary resources and exploitation of distinct territories by contemporaneous groups (Schulting, 2010). No matter the source of the dietary distinction between Verkholensk and Obkhoi, its mere presence suggests the exploitation of distinct resources and a surprisingly persistent division of the landscape, or of particular resource patches within it. The implication is that these two groups, and possibly others in the surrounding region, would have been firmly embedded in their respective landscapes at a relatively fine spatial scale.

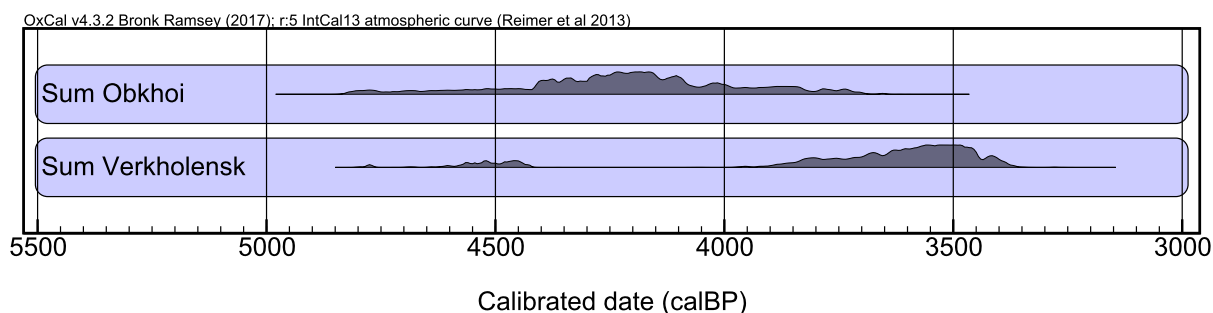
However, a complicating factor is that, while the individuals being compared all date to the EBA, the Obkhoi dates are older on average by ca. 700 years than those from Verkholensk (Figure 15). Additionally, the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values are correlated with the mean cal BP (Spearman's rank-order,  $r^2 = 0.539$ ,  $p = 0.012$ ), reflecting an overall more enriched  $^{13}\text{C}$  diet over time. That said, the single Verkholensk individual (VKL\_1951.017.02; labelled on Figure 14) appearing contemporaneous with Obkhoi also exhibits a more negative  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  value ( $-20.2\text{‰}$ ). At this point, it is unclear whether the isotopic differences reflect a long-term divergence in subsistence adaptations, or a diachronic shift to a more terrestrial diet to differing extents regionally, perhaps encouraged by the abovementioned environmental changes. The ability to identify this as an issue emphasises the value of the systematic radiocarbon dating programme being carried out in Cis-Baikal (Weber et al., 2016).

**Figure 14:** Human  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values for EBA Verkholensk and Obkhoi.





**Figure 15:** The summed FRE-corrected radiocarbon dates for EBA individuals included in the statistical analyses for Obkhoi and Verkholsk.



Lastly, the EBA component of the Upper Lena is significantly lower in  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  ( $n = 31$ ,  $11.1 \pm 0.8\text{‰}$ ) than those with GF diets in the EBA Little Sea ( $n = 29$ ,  $11.9 \pm 0.7\text{‰}$ ; Student's  $t$ -test,  $df = 58$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ). However, while the sample size remains small, those Little Sea individuals with GF diets ( $n = 6$ ,  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ :  $-19.4 \pm 0.2\text{‰}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ :  $11.6 \pm 0.8\text{‰}$ ) identified as non-locals through  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  analysis (Weber and Goriunova, 2013) are similar to the Upper Lena in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  ( $n = 32$ ,  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ :  $-19.5 \pm 0.4\text{‰}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ :  $11.2 \pm 1.0\text{‰}$ ).

## 6.2. Little Sea

There is now a substantial dataset for the Little Sea micro-region (Figure 1, Table 6), particularly for the EBA ( $n = 117$ ), whereas the Late Mesolithic/EN ( $n = 7$ ), and LN ( $n = 12$ ) datasets remain much smaller.

**Table 6:** Summary of stable isotope data for all individuals aged  $\geq 5$  in the Little Sea by site and period. Khuzhir-Nuge XIV data are from Weber et al. (2011) and Katzenberg et al. (2009), whereas all the remaining data are after Weber et al. (2016).

| Site             | LM/EN |                       |     |                       |     | LN |                       |     |                       |     | EBA |                       |     |                       |     |
|------------------|-------|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|----|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
|                  | n     | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ |     | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ |     | n  | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ |     | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ |     | n   | $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ |     | $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ |     |
|                  |       | $\bar{x}$             | s   | $\bar{x}$             | s   |    | $\bar{x}$             | s   | $\bar{x}$             | s   |     | $\bar{x}$             | S   | $\bar{x}$             | s   |
| Khadarta IV      | 3     |                       |     |                       |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 9   | -18.2                 | 0.5 | 15.0                  | 0.8 |
| Khotoruk         |       | -17.3                 | 1.4 | 14.0                  | 1.9 |    |                       |     |                       |     |     |                       |     |                       |     |
| Khuzhir-Nuge XIV |       |                       |     |                       |     | 1  | -19.6                 |     | 11.9                  |     | 63  | -18.5                 | 0.9 | 13.7                  | 1.6 |
| Kulgana          |       |                       |     |                       |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 1   | -19.2                 |     | 13.7                  |     |
| Kurma XI         | 2     | -17.6                 |     | 13.8                  |     |    |                       |     |                       |     | 19  | -18.6                 | 0.6 | 14.5                  | 1.5 |
| Sarminskii Mys   | 1     | -17.9                 |     | 12.8                  |     | 7  | -17.4                 | 0.5 | 15.7                  | 0.7 | 5   | -18.2                 | 0.8 | 14.5                  | 1.6 |
| Shamanskii Mys   |       |                       |     |                       |     | 1  | -16.9                 |     | 16.2                  |     | 7   | -18.4                 | 0.6 | 15.7                  | 0.9 |
| Ulan Khada       | 1     | -17.0                 |     | 15.1                  |     | 3  | -17.3                 | 0.5 | 13.0                  | 0.2 | 13  | -18.3                 | 0.4 | 14.2                  | 1.1 |

### 6.2.1. Ulan-Khada LN

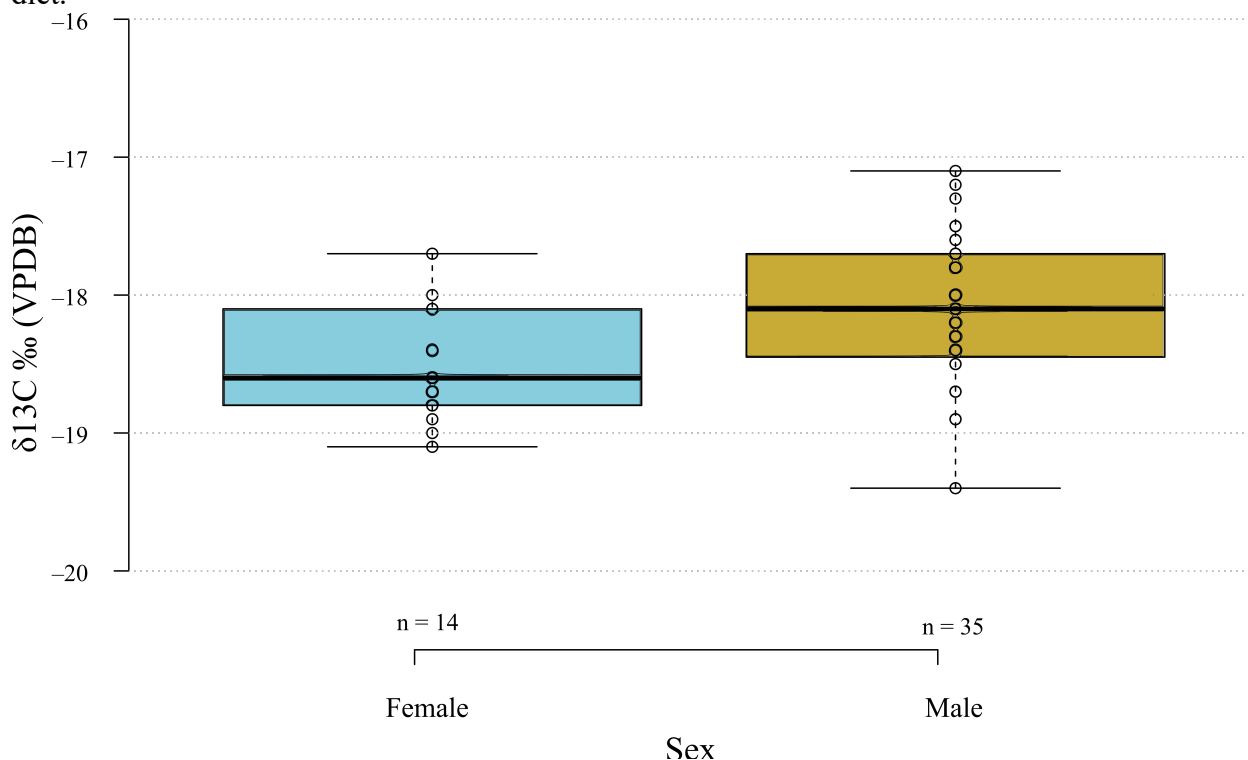
The three LN individuals from Ulan-Khada are markedly lower in  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  than all other Little Sea individuals analysed to date. Nor do they match the Upper Lena values, with which connections have been previously posited, due to their more positive  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values. In fact, the most similar values are those from the LN–EBA Angara micro-region, some 200 km to the west (Figure 12). Alternatively, it may be that the LN community at Ulan-Khada focused on a particular set of

aquatic and terrestrial resources that coincidentally resulted in similar stable isotope values. Complicating matters further,  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  analysis of collagen from these three individuals reveals that two (UK4\_1959.012 and UK5\_1959.001) have similar values to those at Verkholensk. While the Angara initially shares  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values with its Lake Baikal source (Seal and Shanks, 1998), it is likely that further downstream the river becomes increasingly  $^{18}\text{O}$ -depleted as tributaries dilute the influence of the lake's waters, and so may come to resemble more closely the value of the Upper Lena. This dilution would concomitantly lead to increasingly  $^{13}\text{C}$ -depleted fish, but humans along the Angara show a considerable range in their  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values, so that the proposed scenario may still be plausible, though further investigation is required to confirm this hypothesis.

### 6.2.2. Ulan-Khada EBA

The Ulan-Khada EBA data provide additional support for the increasingly well-documented division into GF and GFS dietary patterns in the Little Sea (Figure 13). With the removal of a single outlier, the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values for the EBA are normally distributed, but the  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  are not, unsurprisingly given the bimodal distribution of GF and GFS diets. A new finding emerges, however, in terms of sex-based dietary differences. Considering all the Little Sea EBA data, males with GFS diets have slightly but significantly higher  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  ( $-18.1 \pm 0.5\text{‰}$ ,  $n = 34$ ) values than females with GFS diets ( $-18.5 \pm 0.4\text{‰}$ ,  $n = 14$ , Student's  $t$ -test,  $df = 46$ ,  $t = -2.656$ ,  $p = 0.011$ ; Figure 16). This pattern holds when the sexed individuals from each site are standardized, to control for the different means of individual sites (males  $n = 34$ , females  $n = 14$ ,  $df = 46$ , Student's  $t$ -test,  $t = -2.530$ ,  $p = 0.015$ ). While there are a large number of unsexed individuals, this should not introduce any particular bias in the isotopic results. Moreover, the effect size is large (Cohen's  $d = 0.84$  for the standardized dataset). The small sample size of the GF group precludes testing for a comparable difference.

**Figure 16:** The difference in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  between all Little Sea EBA males and females with the GFS diet.



The higher  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values in EBA GFS males than females suggests that males consumed more littoral fish. This would account for the elevated  $^{13}\text{C}$  without concomitant enrichment in  $^{15}\text{N}$ , whereas the females would have consumed more terrestrial resources. An alternative explanation

is that some of the females originated in the Upper Lena and retained a residual dietary signal from there. As the isotopic dataset continues to be expanded upon, other such subtle differences may emerge.

## 7. Conclusions

This paper has presented new  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  and  $^{14}\text{C}$  results for 63 individuals from the prehistoric hunter-gatherer cemeteries of Verkholsk in the Upper Lena, and Ulan-Khada in the Little Sea of Cis-Baikal. We have also explored the use of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  measurements on bone collagen, with promising results, confirming the expected difference between the two sites based on environmental waters, and offering additional support for the presence of non-locals first identified as outliers based on their  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values. That not all the suspected non-locals differed in their  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values may be because that assumption was itself flawed, or that exchange with laboratory waters smeared the signal.

The results reveal a number of previously unrecognized patterns that add to our knowledge or hunter-gatherer adaptations and social dynamics in Cis-Baikal. LN and EBA individuals at Verkholsk differ in their average  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values, showing an apparent shift to greater use of terrestrial resources in the EBA that may relate to more favourable conditions for large game at this time. The non-overlapping  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values in EBA individuals from Verkholsk and Obkhai, despite their proximity, could imply an unexpected degree of territoriality, though the alternative explanation of a diachronic dietary shift through the EBA also needs to be considered and will be addressed through new excavations on the Upper Lena.

The isotopically distinct LN individuals from Ulan-Khada offer the opportunity to explore possible migration from the Angara micro-region. The EBA results from Ulan-Khada are consistent with other findings from the Little Sea micro-region and provide further support for the previously identified division of long-term dietary patterns into ‘Game-Fish’ and ‘Game-Fish-Seal’. However, the increasing sample size now available for the Little Sea is beginning to reveal more subtle patterns in the data. Thus, within the GFS diet, males have slightly higher  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values on average than females. Whether this should be interpreted as sex-based differential resource use, or to an exogamous marriage pattern, requires further investigation.

Important questions about travel between the Little Sea and Upper Lena remain in terms of its extent, direction, and demographic composition. The mid-adult female from Grave 33 at Verkholsk provides a possible example of reciprocal movement between micro-regions, which will be further explored using other methods. Further research will focus on a range of sites along the Upper Lena and around the Little Sea, utilising additional analytical techniques, including the systematic application of strontium and oxygen isotope analysis on tooth enamel and sequential sampling of dentition for a range of biochemical tracers. New ancient DNA research of adults and children is also planned, which will help elucidate population relationships across Cis-Baikal.

## Acknowledgments

This work was supported by the Baikal-Hokkaido Archaeology Project (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Major Collaborative Research Initiative grant No. 412-2011-1001 and the University of Alberta Killam Cornerstone Grant) and the University of Oxford Clarendon Fund. The authors would also like to thank RLAHA staff for their help with sample preparation and analysis.

## References

- Ambrose, S.H., 1990. Preparation and characterization of bone and tooth collagen for isotopic analysis, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 17, 431-451.
- Ambrose, S.H., Norr, L., 1993. Experimental evidence for the relationship of the carbon isotope ratios of whole diet and dietary protein to those of bone collagen and carbonate, in: Lambert, J.B., Grupe, G. (Eds.), *Prehistoric Human Bone: Archaeology at the Molecular Level*, Springer Berlin Heidelberg, Berlin, Heidelberg, pp. 1-37.
- Baker, M.J., 2003. An equilibrium conflict model of land tenure in hunter-gatherer societies, *Journal of Political Economy* 111, 124-173.
- Bazaliiskii, V.I., 2010. Mesolithic and Neolithic mortuary complexes in the Baikal region of Siberia. In: Weber, A.W., Katzenberg, M.A., Schurr, T. (Eds.), *Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers of the Baikal Region, Siberia: Bioarchaeological Studies of Past Lifeways*. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, pp. 51-86.
- Bezrukova, E.V., Belov, A.V., Letunova, P.P., Kulagina, N.V., 2014. The response of the environment of the Angara–Lena Plateau to global climate change in the Holocene, *Russian Geology and Geophysics* 55, 463-471.
- Bezrukova, E.V., Hildebrandt, S., Letunova, P.P., Ivanov, E.V., Orlova, L.A., Müller, S., Tarasov, P.E., 2013. Vegetation dynamics around Lake Baikal since the middle Holocene reconstructed from the pollen and botanical composition analyses of peat sediments: Implications for paleoclimatic and archeological research, *Quaternary International* 290-291, 35-45.
- Bocherens, H., Drucker, D., 2003. Trophic level isotopic enrichments for carbon and nitrogen in collagen: case studies from recent and ancient terrestrial ecosystems, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 13, 46-53.
- Bowen, G.J., Chesson, L., Nielson, K., Cerling, T.E. and Ehleringer, J.R. 2005. Treatment methods for the determination of  $\delta^2\text{H}$  and  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  of hair keratin by continuous-flow isotope-ratio mass spectrometry. *Rapid Communications in Mass Spectrometry* 19, 2371-2378.
- Brock, F., Higham, T., Ditchfield, P., Bronk Ramsey, C., 2010. Current pretreatment methods for AMS radiocarbon dating at the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit (ORAU), *Radiocarbon* 52, 103-112.
- Brock, F., Bronk Ramsey, C., Higham, T., 2007. Quality assurance of ultrafiltered bone dating, *Radiocarbon* 49, 187-192.
- Bronk Ramsey, C., 2009. Bayesian analysis of radiocarbon dates, *Radiocarbon* 51, 337-360.
- Cohen, J., 1988. *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*, Routledge, London.
- Coplen, T.B., 2011. Guidelines and recommended terms for expression of stable-isotope-ratio and gas-ratio measurement results, *Rapid Communications in Mass Spectrometry* 25, 2538-2560.
- Darling, W.G. and Talbot, J.C. 2003. The O and H stable isotopic composition of fresh waters in the British Isles: 1. Rainfall. *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences* 7(2): 163-181.
- DeNiro, M.J., 1985. Postmortem preservation and alteration of in vivo bone collagen isotope ratios in relation to palaeodietary reconstruction, *Nature* 317, 806-809.
- DeNiro, M.J., Epstein, S., 1978. Influence of diet on the distribution of carbon isotopes in animals, *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 42, 495-506.
- DeNiro, M.J., Epstein, S., 1981. Influence of diet on the distribution of nitrogen isotopes in animals, *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 45, 341-351.
- Friedli, H., Lotscher, H., Oeschger, H., Siegenthaler, U., Stauffer, B., 1986. Ice core record of the  $^{13}\text{C}/^{12}\text{C}$  ratio of atmospheric  $\text{CO}_2$  in the past two centuries, *Nature* 324, 237-238.
- Fuller, B.T., Fuller, J.L., Harris, D.A., Hedges, R.E.M. 2006. Detection of breastfeeding and weaning in modern human infants with carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratios. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 129, 279-293.

- 875 Goriunova, O.I., and L.P. Khlobystin. 1991. Datirovka kompleksov poselenii i pogrebenii bukhty  
876 Ulan-Khada. In *Drevnosti Baikala*, edited by V.M. Masson, pp. 41–56. Irkutskii  
877 gosudarstvennyi universitet, Irkutsk. [In Russian]
- 878 Hedges, R.E.M., Clement, J.G., Thomas, C.D.L., O'Connell, T.C., 2007. Collagen turnover in the  
879 adult femoral mid-shaft: modeled from anthropogenic radiocarbon tracer measurements,  
880 *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 133, 808-816.
- 881 Hedges, R.E.M., Reynard, L.M., 2007. Nitrogen isotopes and the trophic level of humans in  
882 archaeology, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34, 1240-1251.
- 883 Jouzel, J., Hofmann, G., Koster, R.D., Masson, V., 2000. Water isotopes in precipitation:  
884 data/model comparison for present-day and past climates, *Quaternary Science Reviews* 19,  
885 363-379.
- 886 Katzenberg, M.A., Bazaliiskii, V.I., Goriunova, O.I., Savel'ev, N.A., Weber, A.W., 2010. Diet  
887 reconstruction of prehistoric hunter-gatherers, in: Weber, A.W., Katzenberg, M.A., Schurr,  
888 T.G. (Eds.), *Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers of the Baikal Region, Siberia Bioarchaeological  
889 Studies of Past Life Ways*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 176-191.
- 890 Katzenberg, M.A., Goriunova, O., Weber, A., 2009. Paleodiet reconstruction of Bronze Age  
891 Siberians from the mortuary site of Khuzhir-Nuge XIV, Lake Baikal, *Journal of  
892 Archaeological Science* 36, 663-674.
- 893 Katzenberg, M.A., McKenzie, H.G., Losey, R.J., Goriunova, O.I., Weber, A., 2012. Prehistoric  
894 dietary adaptations among hunter-fisher-gatherers from the Little Sea of Lake Baikal,  
895 Siberia, Russian Federation, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, 2612-2626.
- 896 Katzenberg, M.A., Weber, A.W., 1999. Stable isotope ecology and palaeodiet in the Lake Baikal  
897 region of Siberia, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26, 651-659.
- 898 Kelly, R.L., 2013. *The Lifeways of Hunter-Gatherers: The Foraging Spectrum*, 2 ed., Cambridge  
899 University Press, Cambridge.
- 900 Khlobystin, L.P., Clark, G., 1969. The stratified settlement of Ulan-Khada on Lake Baikal (based  
901 on materials excavated by B.E. Petri), *Artic Anthropology* 6, 88-94.
- 902 Komarova, N.V., Sher, Ia.A. 1992. Mogil'niki bukhty Ulan-Khada. In: *Drevnosti Baikala*, V.M.  
903 Masson (Ed.), *Izdatel'stvo Irkutskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, Irkutsk, pp. 41–56.  
904 [In Russian]
- 905 Kroeber, A.L., 1925. *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Government Printing Office,  
906 Washington, D.C.
- 907 Lam, Y.M. 1994. Isotopic evidence for change in dietary patterns during the Baikal Neolithic.  
908 *Current Anthropology* 35(2): 185-190.
- 909 Layton, R.R., 1986. Political and territorial structures among hunter-gatherers, *Man* 21, 18-33.
- 910 Leacock, E.B., Rothschild, N.A., 1994. *Labrador winter: the ethnographic journals of William  
911 Duncan Strong, 1927-1928*, Smithsonian Institution Press.
- 912 Lieverse, A.R., Bazaliiskii, V.I., Goriunova, O.I., Weber, A.W., 2009. Upper limb musculoskeletal  
913 stress markers among middle Holocene foragers of Siberia's Cis-Baikal region, *American  
914 Journal of Physical Anthropology* 138, 458-472.
- 915 Losey, R.J., Nomokonova, T., White, D., 2012. Fish and fishing in Holocene Cis-Baikal, Siberia:  
916 a review, *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 7, 126-145.
- 917 Mackay, A.W., Swann, G.E.A., Brewer, T.S., Leng, M.L., Morley, D.W., Piotrowska, N., Rioual,  
918 P., White, D., 2011. A reassessment of Late Glacial – Holocene diatom oxygen isotope  
919 record from Lake Baikal using a geochemical mass-balance approach, *Journal of  
920 Quaternary Science* 26 (6), 627–634.
- 921 Mayewski, P.A., Rohling, E.E., Stager, J.C., Karlén, W., Maasch, K.A., Meeker, L.D., Meyerson,  
922 E.A., Gasse, F., van Kreveld, S., Holmgren, K., Lee-Thorp, J., Rosqvist, G., Rack, F.,  
923 Staubwasser, M., Schneider, R.R., Steig, E.J., 2004. Holocene climate variability,  
924 *Quaternary Research* 62, 243–255.

- Minagawa, M., Wada, E., 1984. Stepwise enrichment of  $^{15}\text{N}$  along food chains: further evidence and the relation between  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  and animal age, *Geochimica et Cosmochimica* 48, 1135-1140.
- Morley, D.W., Leng, M.J., Mackay, A.W., Sloane, H.J., 2005. Late Glacial and Holocene environmental change in the Lake Baikal region documented by oxygen isotopes from diatom silica, *Global and Planetary Change* 46, 221–233.
- O'Connell, T.C., Kneale, C.J., Tasevska, N., Kuhnle, G.G., 2012. The diet-body offset in human nitrogen isotopic values: a controlled dietary study, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 149, 426-434.
- Okladnikov, A.P., 1950. Neolit i bronzovyi vek Pribaikal'ia (chast' I i II): materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR, Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva. [In Russian]
- Okladnikov, A.P., 1955. Neolit i bronzovyi vek Pribaikal'ia (chast' III): materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR, Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva. [In Russian]
- Okladnikov, A.P., 1959. Ancient Population of Siberia and its Cultures. Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.
- Okladnikov, A.P. 1978 Verkholskii mogil'nik—pamiatnik drevnei kul'tury narodov Sibiri. Nauka, Novosibirsk. [In Russian]
- Pellegrini, M., Pouncett, J., Jay, M., Parker Pearson, M., Richards, M.P., 2016. Tooth enamel oxygen “isoscapes” show a high degree of human mobility in prehistoric Britain. *Scientific Reports*. 6, e34986.
- Reimer, P.J., Bard, E., Bayliss, A., Beck, W., Blackwell, P.G., Ramsey, C.B., Buck, C.E., Cheng, H., Edwards, R.L., Friedrich, M., Grootes, P.M., Guilderson, T.P., Hafflidason, H., Hajdas, I., Hatté, C., Heaton, T.J., Hoffmann, D.L., Hogg, A.G., Hughen, K.A., Kaiser, K.F., Kromer, B., Manning, S.W., Niu, M., Reimer, R.W., Richards, D.A., Scott, E.M., Southon, J.R., Staff, R.A., Turney, C.S.M., van der Plicht, J., 2013. IntCal13 and Marine13 radiocarbon age calibration curves 0-50,000 years cal BP, *Radiocarbon* 55, 1869-1887.
- Seal, R.R., Shanks, W.C., 1998. Oxygen and hydrogen isotope systematics of Lake Baikal, Siberia: implications for paleoclimate studies. *Limnology and Oceanography* 43, 1251-1261.
- Schoeninger, M.J., DeNiro, M.J., 1984. Nitrogen and carbon isotope composition in bone collagen from marine and terrestrial animals, *Geochimica et Cosmochimica* 48.
- Schulting, R.J., 2010. Staying home for dinner: an isotopic approach to regionality in Mesolithic Atlantic Europe, in: Barndon, R., Engevik, A., Øye, I. (Eds.), *The Archaeology of Regional Technologies: Case Studies from the Palaeolithic to the Age of the Vikings*, Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, pp. 69-88.
- Schulting, R., Bronk Ramsey, C., Bazaliiskii, V., Weber, A., 2015. Highly variable freshwater reservoir offsets found along the Upper Lena watershed, Cis-Baikal, Southeast Siberia, *Radiocarbon* 57, 581-593.
- Schulting, R., Bronk Ramsey, C., Bazaliiskii, V.I., Goriunova, O.I., Weber, A., 2014. Freshwater reservoir offsets investigated through paired human-faunal  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating and stable carbon and nitrogen isotope analysis at Lake Baikal, Siberia, *Radiocarbon* 56, 991-1008.
- Schurr, M.R. 1998. Using stable nitrogen isotope ratios to study weaning behavior in past populations. *World Archaeology* 30(2), 327-342.
- Shepard, B.A., Goriunova, O.g.I., Novikov, A.G., Tiutrin, A.A., Weber, A.W., 2016. Macro-regional interconnections among ancient hunter-gatherers of the Cis-Baikal, Eastern Siberia (Russia), *Quaternary International* 419, 140–158.
- Teit, J.A., 1930. The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus, *American Bureau of Ethnology Annual Report for 1927/28* 45, 295-396.
- Tieszen, L.L., Boutton, T.W., Tesdahl, K.G., Slade, N.A., 1983. Fractionation and turnover of stable carbon isotopes in animal tissues: implications for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  analysis of diet, *Oecologia* 57, 32-37.
- Tieszen, L.L., Fagre, T., 1993. Effect of diet quality and composition on the isotopic composition of respiratory  $\text{CO}_2$ , bone collagen, bioapatite, and soft tissues, in: Lambert, J.B., Grupe, G.

977 (Eds.), *Prehistoric Human Bone: Archaeology at the Molecular Level*, Springer Berlin  
 978 Heidelberg, Berlin, Heidelberg, pp. 121-155.  
 979 van Klinken, G.J., 1999. Bone collagen quality indicators for palaeodietary and radiocarbon  
 980 measurements, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26, 687-695.  
 981 von Holstein, I.C.C., Von Tersch, M., Coutu, A.N., Penkman, K.E.H., Makarewicz, C.A. and  
 982 Collins, M.J. 2018. Collagen proteins exchange oxygen with demineralisation and  
 983 gelatinisation reagents and also with atmospheric moisture, *Rapid Communications in*  
 984 *Mass Spectrometry* 32, 523–534.  
 985 Waters-Rist, A.L., Bazaliiskii, V.I., Weber, A.W., Katzenberg, M.A., 2011. Infant and child diet  
 986 in Neolithic hunter-fisher-gatherers from Cis-Baikal, Siberia: intra-long bone stable  
 987 nitrogen and carbon isotope ratios, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 146, 225-  
 988 241.  
 989 Weber, A., 1995. The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of the Lake Baikal region: a review of  
 990 recent research, *Journal of World Prehistory* 9, 99-165.  
 991 Weber, A.W., 2003. Biogeographic profile of the Lake Baikal region, Siberia, in: Weber, A.,  
 992 McKenzie, H. (Eds.), *Prehistoric Foragers of the Cis-Baikal, Siberia: Proceedings of the*  
 993 *First Conference of the Baikal Archaeology Project*, Canadian Circumpolar Institute Press.  
 994 Weber, A.W., Bettinger, R., 2010. Middle Holocene hunter-gatherers of Cis-Baikal, Siberia: An  
 995 overview for the new century, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29, 491-506.  
 996 Weber, A.W., Goriunova, O.I., 2013. Hunter–gatherer migrations, mobility and social relations: a  
 997 case study from the Early Bronze Age Baikal region, Siberia, *Journal of Anthropological*  
 998 *Archaeology* 32, 330-346.  
 999 Weber, A.W., Link, D.W., Katzenberg, M.A., 2002. Hunter-gatherer culture change and continuity  
 1000 in the Middle Holocene of the Cis-Baikal, Siberia, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*  
 1001 21, 230-299.  
 1002 Weber, A.W., Schulting, R.J., Bronk Ramsey, C., Bazaliiskii, V.I., Goriunova, O.I., Berdnikova,  
 1003 N.I.E., 2016. Chronology of middle Holocene hunter–gatherers in the Cis-Baikal region of  
 1004 Siberia: Corrections based on examination of the freshwater reservoir effect, *Quaternary*  
 1005 *International* 419, 74-98.  
 1006 Weber, A.W., White, D., Bazaliiskii, V.I., Goriunova, O.I., Savel'ev, N.A., Katzenberg, A.M.,  
 1007 2011. Hunter–gatherer foraging ranges, migrations, and travel in the middle Holocene  
 1008 Baikal region of Siberia: Insights from carbon and nitrogen stable isotope signatures,  
 1009 *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 30, 523-548.  
 1010 Yoshii, K., 1999. Stable isotope analysis of benthic organisms in Lake Baikal, *Hydrobiologia* 411,  
 1011 145-159.  
 1012 Yoshii, K., Melnik N.G., Timoshkin O.A., Bondarneko, N.A., Anoshko P.N., Yoshioka, T., Wada,  
 1013 E., 1999. Stable isotope analyses of the pelagic food web in Lake Baikal, *Limnol.*  
 1014 *Oceanogr.* 44, 502-511.

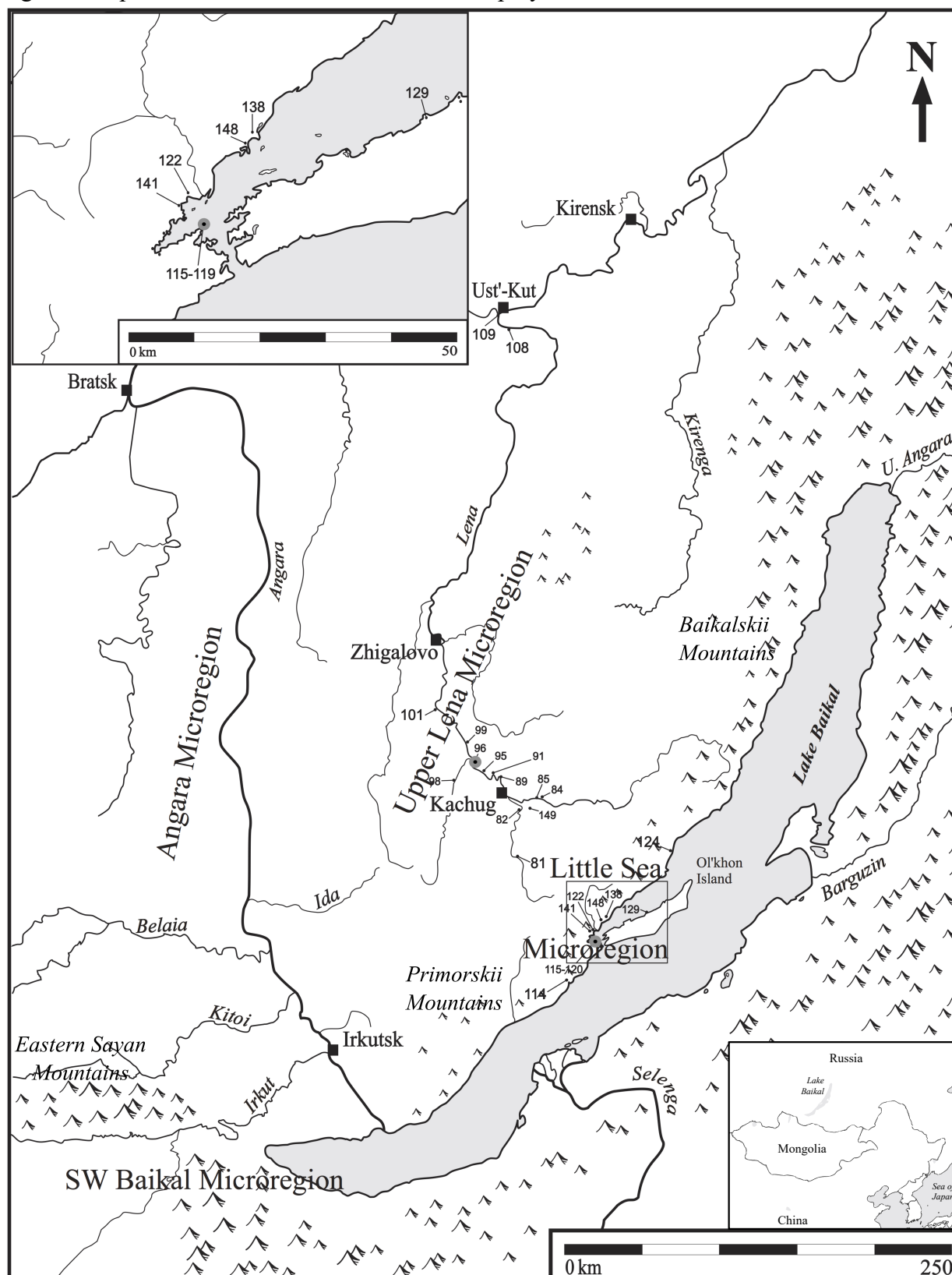
Catalogue

**Catalogue:** This catalogue provides information about all the samples used in this study (site name, grave number, age, sex) and results of radiocarbon and stable isotope analyses ( $^{14}\text{C}$  date BP and error, FRE corrected date BP and error, FRE offset, 95.4% confidence, and mean calibrated date BP and error, percent yield, percent carbon,  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ , pretreatment protocols used, assigned dietary pattern, and  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ ). See Table 2 for details on the FRE correction equations used. The 'Period' assignment is the result of the radiocarbon analysis and assessment of the archaeological evidence. The R Combine results are listed for every individual that was used in the test for individuals analysed twice, double burials, and multiple burials.  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values in bold text identify site outliers. 'Pretreat' refers to which protocols were used to pretreat the samples, whether just those in the ORAU (A) or the ORAU and palaeodiet (B) laboratories outlined in 4.2.

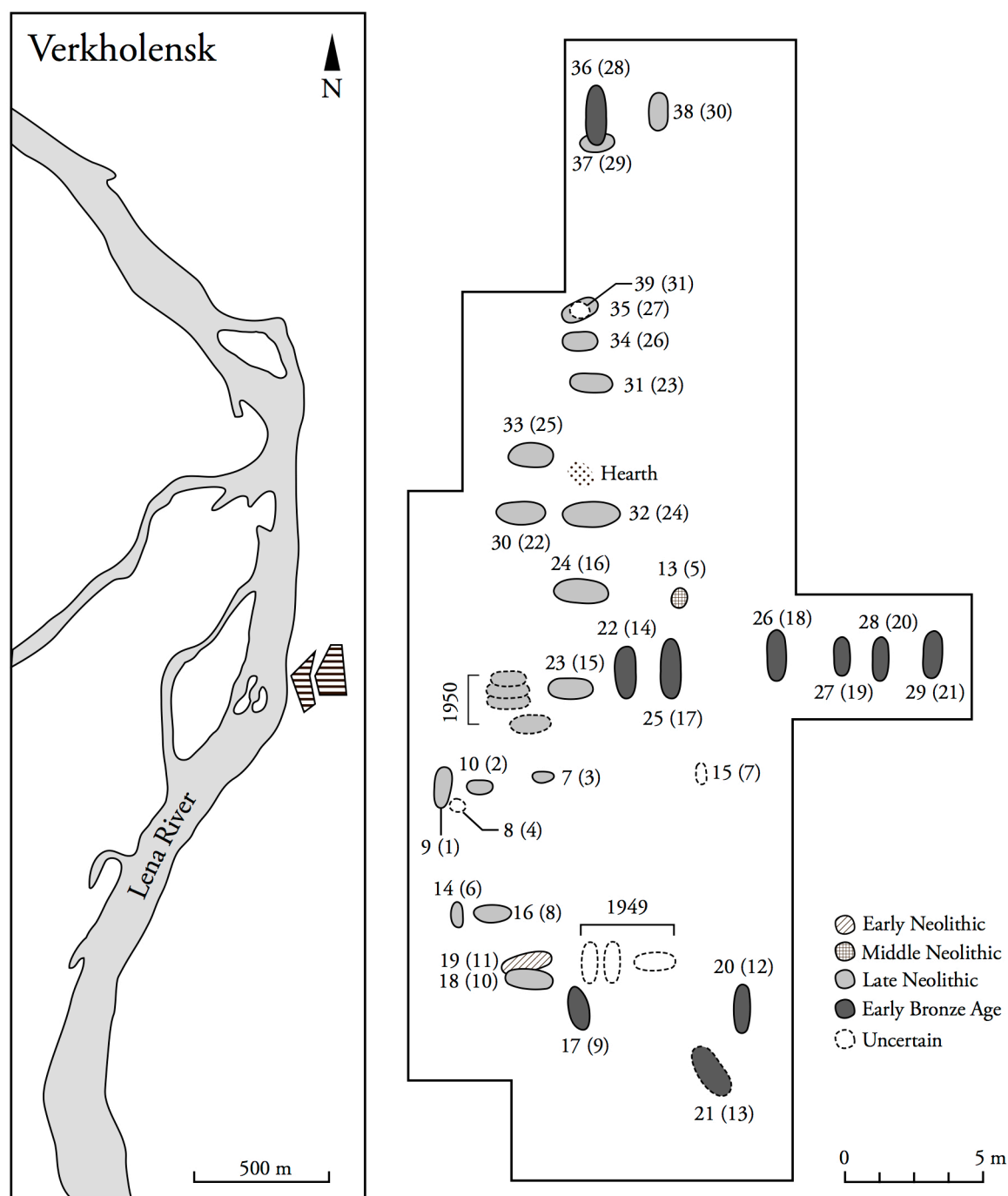
| Master ID       | Grave    | Period | Age                   | Sex | OxA   | Element/Side       | DateBP | +/- | FRE | CorrDateBP | CorrError | DateDiff | FromCalBP95 | ToCalBP95 | μ cal BP | cal BP σ | R_Combine  | %Yld | %C   | δ <sup>13</sup> C | δ <sup>15</sup> N | C:N | Pretreat | GF/GFS | δ <sup>18</sup> O | Notes                |  |
|-----------------|----------|--------|-----------------------|-----|-------|--------------------|--------|-----|-----|------------|-----------|----------|-------------|-----------|----------|----------|--|------|------|-------------------|-------------------|-----|----------|--------|-------------------|----------------------|--|
| Ulan-Khada      |          |        |                       |     |       |                    |        |     |     |            |           |          |             |           |          |          |  |      |      |                   |                   |     |          |        |                   |                      |  |
| UK2_1959.002    | UK_II 2  | EBA    | Mid? adult            | M?  | 33943 | radius/ L          | 3977   | 35  | 1   | 3684       | 63        | 293      | 4227        | 3845      | 4024     | 90       |  | 5.4  | 45.1 | -18.3             | 14.0              | 3.3 | A        | GFS    |                   |                      |  |
| UK2_1959.003    | UK_II 3  | EBA    | Yng/Mid-adult         | M?  | 33941 | occipital/R        | 4169   | 35  | 1   | 3819       | 63        | 350      | 4416        | 4002      | 4225     | 103      |  | 12.5 | 44.9 | -18.2             | 14.7              | 3.3 | B        | GFS    | 9.9               |                      |  |
| UK2_1959.004    | UK_II 4  | EBA    | Child, c. 12 yrs.     | I   | 33976 | occipital/L        | 4018   | 32  | 1   | 3629       | 61        | 389      | 4146        | 3730      | 3952     | 88       |  | 10.2 | 44.5 | -18.5             | 14.6              | 3.3 | B        | GFS    |                   |                      |  |
| UK2_1959.005    | UK_II 5  | EN     | Adolescent            | F   | 33942 | femur/L            | 6665   | 40  | 1   | 6414       | 65        | 251      | 7439        | 7178      | 7341     | 59       |  | 6.0  | 44.8 | -17.0             | 15.1              | 3.2 | B        | GFS    | 8.8               |                      |  |
| UK3_1959.001    | UK_III 1 | EBA    | Adult                 | I   | 33944 | mandible/R         | 4149   | 33  | 1   | 3873       | 61        | 276      | 4495        | 4094      | 4294     | 91       |  | 10.2 | 45.3 | -18.6             | 13.4              | 3.3 | B        | GFS    |                   |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.003.C  | UK_IV 3  | EBA    | Adolescent            | F?  | 33945 | occipital/R        | 4444   | 37  | 1   | 3990       | 64        | 454      | 4798        | 4243      | 4467     | 111      |  | 4.6  | 44.1 | -18.4             | 15.5              | 3.3 | B        | GFS    | 11.4              |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.004.A  | UK_IV 4  | EBA    | Yng/Mid-adult         | M?  | 33946 | occipital/?        | 4461   | 37  | 1   | 4097       | 64        | 364      | 4824        | 4440      | 4633     | 109      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 4, T = 6.2 (5% 9.5)  | 5.4  | 44.0 | -17.7             | 15.4              | 3.3 | B        | GFS    | 11.8              |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.004.B  | UK_IV 4  | EBA    | Adult                 | M?  | 33947 | occipital/R        | 4469   | 36  | 1   | 4166       | 63        | 303      | 4841        | 4530      | 4693     | 90       | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 4, T = 6.2 (5% 9.5)  | 13.8 | 44.7 | -17.8             | 14.7              | 3.3 | B        | GFS    | 11.1              |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.004.C  | UK_IV 4  | EBA    | Mid/Old adult         | I   | 33948 | mandible/R         | 4326   | 36  | 1   | 4052       | 63        | 274      | 4817        | 4414      | 4574     | 115      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 4, T = 6.2 (5% 9.5)  | 5.0  | 43.8 | -18.1             | 13.9              | 3.3 | B        | GFS    | 8.6               |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.004.D  | UK_IV 4  | EBA    | Adult                 | M?  | 33954 | femur/R            | 4346   | 37  | 1   | 4074       | 64        | 272      | 4820        | 4422      | 4605     | 114      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 4, T = 6.2 (5% 9.5)  | 9.9  | 44.2 | -18.0             | 14.0              | 3.2 | B        | GFS    | 10.3              |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.004.E  | UK_IV 4  | EBA    | Mid adult             | M?  | 33955 | mandible/R         | 4304   | 38  | 1   | 3947       | 64        | 357      | 4569        | 4159      | 4389     | 102      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 4, T = 6.2 (5% 9.5)  | 10.6 | 43.0 | -18.1             | 14.9              | 3.3 | A        | GFS    |                   |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.005.02 | UK_IV 5  | EBA    | Adult                 | I   | 33949 | mandible/R         | 4129   | 35  | 1   | 3954       | 63        | 175      | 4574        | 4160      | 4400     | 102      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 1, T = 1.6 (5% 3.8)  | 6.1  | 44.1 | -19.0             | 11.8              | 3.3 | A        | GF     |                   |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.005.03 | UK_IV 5  | EBA    | Old adult             | M   | 33950 | occipital/L        | 4324   | 35  | 1   | 4066       | 63        | 258      | 4817        | 4420      | 4594     | 115      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 1, T = 1.6 (5% 3.8)  | 10.1 | 44.4 | -18.9             | 12.8              | 3.2 | A        | GF     |                   |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.011.02 | UK_IV 11 | EBA    | Child, c. 8 yrs.      | I   | 33951 | mandible/L         | 4536   | 34  | 1   | 4085       | 62        | 451      | 4821        | 4436      | 4619     | 111      |  | 5.1  | 43.4 | -18.6             | 15.2              | 3.3 | B        | GFS    | 12.7              |                      |  |
| UK4_1959.012    | UK_IV 12 | LN     | Old adult             | M   | 33952 | occipital/R        | 5500   | 38  | 1   | 5391       | 64        | 109      | 6295        | 6001      | 6168     | 87       |  | 12.4 | 42.1 | -17.7             | 12.8              | 3.3 | B        |        | 6.3               | Little Sea FRE       |  |
| UK4_1959.014.02 | UK_IV 14 | LN     | Adult                 | F?  | 33953 | mandible/R         | 5495   | 38  | 1   | 5418       | 64        | 77       | 6312        | 6002      | 6198     | 84       |  | 4.5  | 42.9 | -17.3             | 13.0              | 3.3 | B        |        | 9.0               | Angara/SW Baikal FRE |  |
| UK5_1959.001    | UK_V 1   | LN     | Adult                 | F?  | 33956 | ulna/R             | 4865   | 38  | 1   | 4824       | 64        | 41       | 5710        | 5327      | 5541     | 81       |  | 7.3  | 45.2 | -16.8             | 13.2              | 3.2 | B        |        | 6.2               | Little Sea FRE       |  |
|                 |          |        |                       |     |       |                    |        | 3   |     | 4594       | 75        | 271      | 5578        | 4988      | 5276     | 143      |  |      |      |                   |                   |     |          |        |                   |                      | Angara/SW Baikal FRE                           |
| Verkholensk     |          |        |                       |     |       |                    |        |     |     |            |           |          |             |           |          |          |  |      |      |                   |                   |     |          |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1950.005    | 5        | LN     | Adult                 | F?  | 33875 | parietal.frontal/R | 5015   | 40  | 2   | 4504       | 57        | 511      | 5316        | 4970      | 5153     | 101      |  | 4.7  | 45.9 | -20.2             | 11.8              | 3.2 | B        |        | 8.6               |                      |  |
| VKL_1950.006    | 6        | LN     | Adult                 | M?  | 33877 | humerus/L          | 5090   | 37  | 2   | 4663       | 55        | 427      | 5581        | 5300      | 5410     | 81       |  | 4.9  | 45.9 | -19.7             | 12.1              | 3.2 | B        |        | 8.2               |                      |  |
| VKL_1950.007    | 7        | LN     | Adult                 | I   | 33878 | occipital/?        | 5065   | 35  | 2   | 4570       | 53        | 495      | 5450        | 5045      | 5228     | 119      |  | 3.9  | 44.6 | -20.0             | 12.5              | 3.2 | B        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1950.008    | 8        | LN     | Child, c. 12          | I   | 33876 | temporal/L         | 5052   | 38  | 2   | 4513       | 55        | 539      | 5317        | 4975      | 5161     | 98       |  | 3.8  | 44.7 | -20.3             | 12.0              | 3.2 | B        |        | 7.9               |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.009    | 9        | LN     | Mid/Old adult         | F   | 33879 | tibia/R            | 4575   | 33  | 2   | 4199       | 52        | 376      | 4853        | 4577      | 4722     | 78       |  | 4.6  | 45.1 | -19.7             | 11.0              | 3.2 | A        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.010    | 10       | LN     | Yng adult             | M?  | 33911 | femur/R            | 5141   | 38  | 2   | 4735       | 55        | 406      | 5588        | 5323      | 5464     | 82       |  | 2.7  | 43.6 | -19.8             | 11.6              | 3.2 | B        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.013    | 13       | LN     | Adult                 | U   | 33880 | humerus/L          | 5650   | 40  | 2   | 5330       | 57        | 320      | 6276        | 5950      | 6110     | 81       |  | 7.4  | 46.0 | -19.2             | 12.4              | 3.2 | A        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.014    | 14       | LN     | Old adult             | M?  | 33881 | femur/L            | 5105   | 35  | 2   | 4663       | 53        | 442      | 5580        | 5300      | 5410     | 78       |  | 3.6  | 44.2 | -19.7             | 12.4              | 3.2 | B        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.016.01 | 16       | LN     | Child, c. 10 yrs.     | I   | 33882 | humerus/R          | 5311   | 37  | 2   | 4833       | 55        | 478      | 5698        | 5332      | 5553     | 70       |  | 4.0  | 44.8 | -20.1             | 11.7              | 3.2 | A        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.017.02 | 17       | EBA    | Mid/Old adult         | F?  | 33883 | temporal/L         | 4515   | 35  |     |            |           |          |             |           |          |          |  | 5.6  | 44.5 | -20.2             | 12.0              | 3.2 | A        |        |                   |                      | Combined values (Method 2, Weber et al., 2016) |
|                 |          |        |                       |     | 33884 | tibia/L            | 4606   | 37  |     |            |           |          |             |           |          |          |  |      |      |                   |                   |     |          |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.018    | 18       | LN     | Mid/Old adult         | M?  | 33912 | humerus/R          | 5166   | 37  | 2   | 4683       | 55        | 483      | 5581        | 5312      | 5425     | 80       | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df=1 T=0.4 (5% 3.8)       | 4.7  | 43.6 | -19.9             | 12.3              | 3.2 | B        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.020    | 20       | EBA    | Mid adult             | F   | 33913 | femur/R            | 3788   | 37  | 2   | 3379       | 55        | 409      | 3825        | 3475      | 3627     | 77       |  | 5.8  | 46.9 | -19.9             | 10.9              | 3.2 | B        |        | 7.3               |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.022    | 22       | EBA    | Yng adult             | M   | 34212 | tibia/R            | 3869   | 38  | 2   | 3370       | 55        | 499      | 3819        | 3459      | 3614     | 76       |  | 6.3  | 51.3 | -20.2             | 11.4              | 3.2 | B        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.023    | 23       | LN     | Mid/Old adult         | F   | 33887 | femur/L            | 5091   | 37  | 2   | 4656       | 55        | 435      | 5581        | 5295      | 5404     | 83       |  | 3.9  | 44.4 | -19.8             | 11.9              | 3.2 | B        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.024.01 | 24       | LN     | Yng/Mid adult         | M   | 33914 | femur/R            | 5150   | 40  | 2   | 4656       | 57        | 494      | 5583        | 5290      | 5403     | 87       | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 1, T = 0.6 (5% 3.8)  | 6.8  | 47.0 | -20.0             | 12.4              | 3.2 | B        |        | 7.1               |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.024.02 | 24       | LN     | Yng adult, c. 18 yrs. | F?  | 33915 | humerus/R          | 5198   | 37  | 2   | 4717       | 55        | 481      | 5585        | 5321      | 5450     | 82       | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 1, T = 0.6 (5% 3.8)  | 13.8 | 42.3 | -20.0             | 12.2              | 3.2 | A        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.025    | 25       | EBA    | Mid/Old adult         | M?  | 33723 | femur/R            | 3727   | 33  | 2   | 3314       | 52        | 413      | 3688        | 3410      | 3544     | 63       |  | 2.0  | 41.0 | -19.9             | 10.9              | 3.4 | B        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.026.01 | 26       | EBA    | Yng adult             | M   | 33888 | femur/L            | 3911   | 38  | 2   | 3452       | 55        | 459      | 3849        | 3578      | 3723     | 75       |  | 1.9  | 44.9 | -20.0             | 11.6              | 3.2 | A        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.027    | 27       | EBA    | Yng adult             | F   | 33919 | parietal/L         | 3570   | 33  | 2   | 3235       | 52        | 335      | 3574        | 3364      | 3466     | 60       |  | 4.4  | 44.1 | -19.7             | <b>10.2</b>       | 3.3 | B        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.028    | 28       | EBA    | Adolescent            | F?  | 33920 | parietal/L         | 3666   | 33  | 2   | 3286       | 52        | 380      | 3634        | 3398      | 3516     | 60       |  | 4.8  | 43.5 | -19.8             | 10.6              | 3.2 | A        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.029    | 29       | EBA    | Mid/Old adult         | M?  | 33916 | humerus/L          | 3590   | 35  | 2   | 3269       | 53        | 321      | 3612        | 3382      | 3500     | 60       |  | 14.4 | 43.0 | -19.6             | 10.6              | 3.2 | B        |        | 9.1               |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.030.01 | 30       | LN     | Yng adult             | M?  | 33917 | femur/L            | 4924   | 37  | 2   | 4591       | 55        | 333      | 5466        | 5052      | 5279     | 128      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 3, T = 14.7 (5% 7.8) | 11.1 | 42.7 | -19.6             | 10.6              | 3.2 | B        |        | 7.2               |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.030.02 | 30       | LN     | Old adult             | F?  | 33918 | femur/R            | 4831   | 35  | 2   | 4620       | 53        | 211      | 5577        | 5065      | 5354     | 108      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 3, T = 14.7 (5% 7.8) | 9.6  | 43.6 | <b>-18.7</b>      | 12.1              | 3.3 | B        |        | 8.7               |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.030.03 | 30       | LN     | Yng adult             | F   | 33930 | femur/R            | 5006   | 37  | 2   | 4487       | 55        | 519      | 5313        | 4894      | 5140     | 104      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 3, T = 14.7 (5% 7.8) | 12.9 | 43.6 | -20.1             | 12.3              | 3.2 | A        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.030.04 | 30       | LN     | Yng/Mid adult         | M   | 33931 | tibia/L            | 4784   | 39  | 2   | 4350       | 56        | 434      | 5260        | 4829      | 4948     | 89       | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 3, T = 14.7 (5% 7.8) | 10.1 | 44.0 | -19.9             | 11.6              | 3.2 | A        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.031    | 31       | LN     | Child, c. 7 yrs.      | I   | 34409 | sphenoid/L         | 5239   | 36  | 2   | 4624       | 54        | 615      | 5578        | 5066      | 5361     | 106      |  | 5.8  | 44.0 | -20.6             | 12.2              | 3.3 | B        |        | 6.5               |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.032.01 | 32       | LN     | Yng adult             | M   | 33932 | femur/R            | 4986   | 38  | 2   | 4618       | 55        | 368      | 5576        | 5060      | 5347     | 114      | χ <sup>2</sup> t-test, df = 2, T = 0.1 (5% 6.0)  | 14.8 | 43.4 | -19.4             | 12.2              | 3.2 | B        |        |                   |                      |  |
| VKL_1951.032.02 | 32       | LN     | Child, c. 9 yrs.      | I   | 33968 | parietal/R         | 5096   | 35  | 2   | 4622       | 53        | 474      | 5577        | 5066      | 5358     | 106      | χ <sup>2&lt;/</sup>                              |      |      |                   |                   |     |          |        |                   |                      |  |



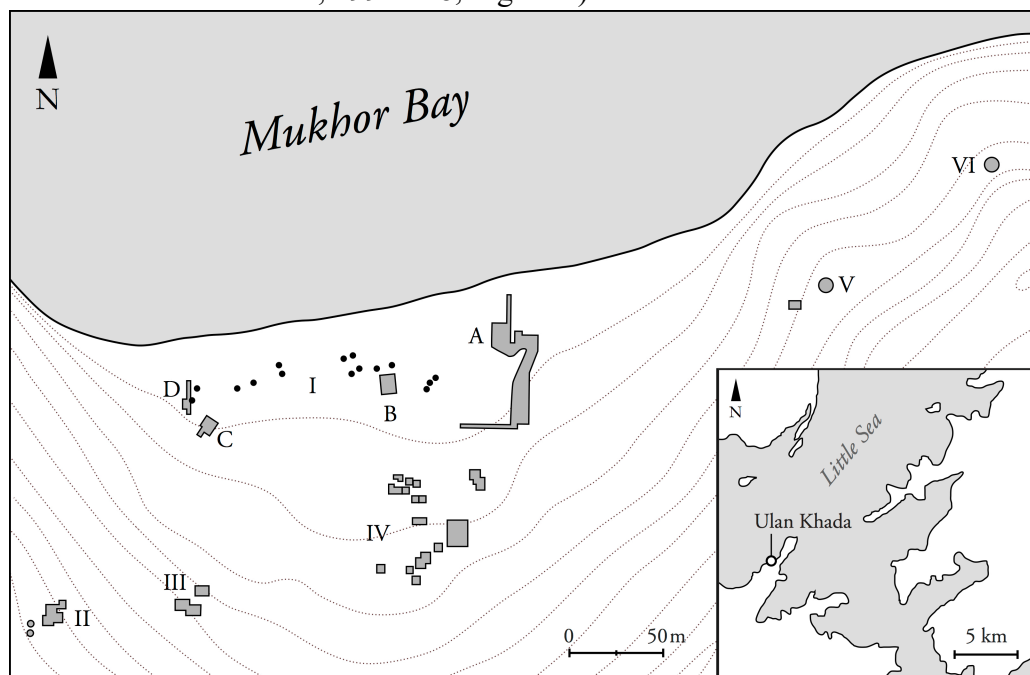
**Figure 1:** Map of the Cis-Baikal region showing the micro-regions (Angara, Upper, Lena, Little Sea, and Southwest Baikal), sites sampled (<sup>96</sup> Verkholsensk and <sup>115-119</sup> Ulan-Khada II, III, IV, V), and relevant sites in the Upper Lena (<sup>81</sup> Manzurka, <sup>82</sup> Ulus Khal'skii, <sup>84</sup> Makrushino, <sup>85</sup> Iushino, <sup>89</sup> Popovskii Lug 2, <sup>91</sup> Makarovo, <sup>95</sup> Nikol'skii Grot, <sup>98</sup> Obkhai, <sup>99</sup> Ust'-Iamnaia, <sup>101</sup> Zapleskino, <sup>108</sup> Turuka, <sup>109</sup> Zakuta, and <sup>149</sup> Borki) and Little Sea (<sup>114</sup> Khotoruk, <sup>122</sup> Sarminskii Mys, <sup>124</sup> Kulgana, <sup>129</sup> Shamanskii Mys, <sup>138</sup> Kurma XI, <sup>141</sup> Khuzhir-Nuge XIV, and <sup>148</sup> Khadarta IV). Regional map sources: Esri, DeLorme, HERE, MapmyIndia



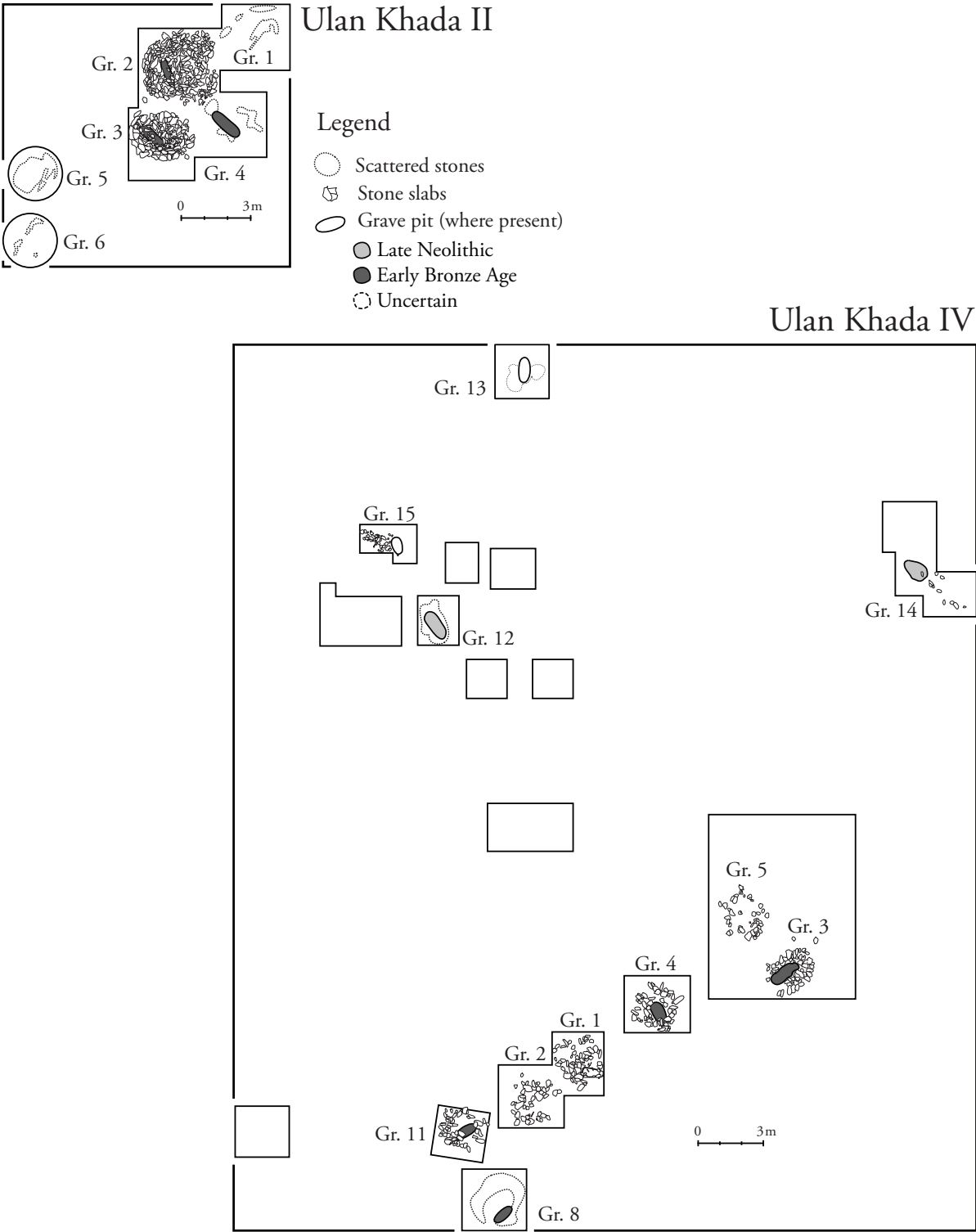
**Figure 2:** Verkholsk cemetery plan and location along the Lena River. Adapted by PH and RJS from Okladnikov (1955:219) Figure 104 and Okladnikov (1978:5) Figure 1. For clarity, our map includes the cumulative grave numbers assigned by Okladnikov in his 1978 publication and those assigned during the original excavation (in brackets), see Supplemental Information (SI 1) for more details. The period assignments reflect the results of this study.



16 **Figure 3:** Map of Ulan-Khada stratified site (A-D) and Ulan-Khada cemeteries (II-VI) (adapted  
 17 by PH from Komarova and Sher, 1992:148, Figure 2).

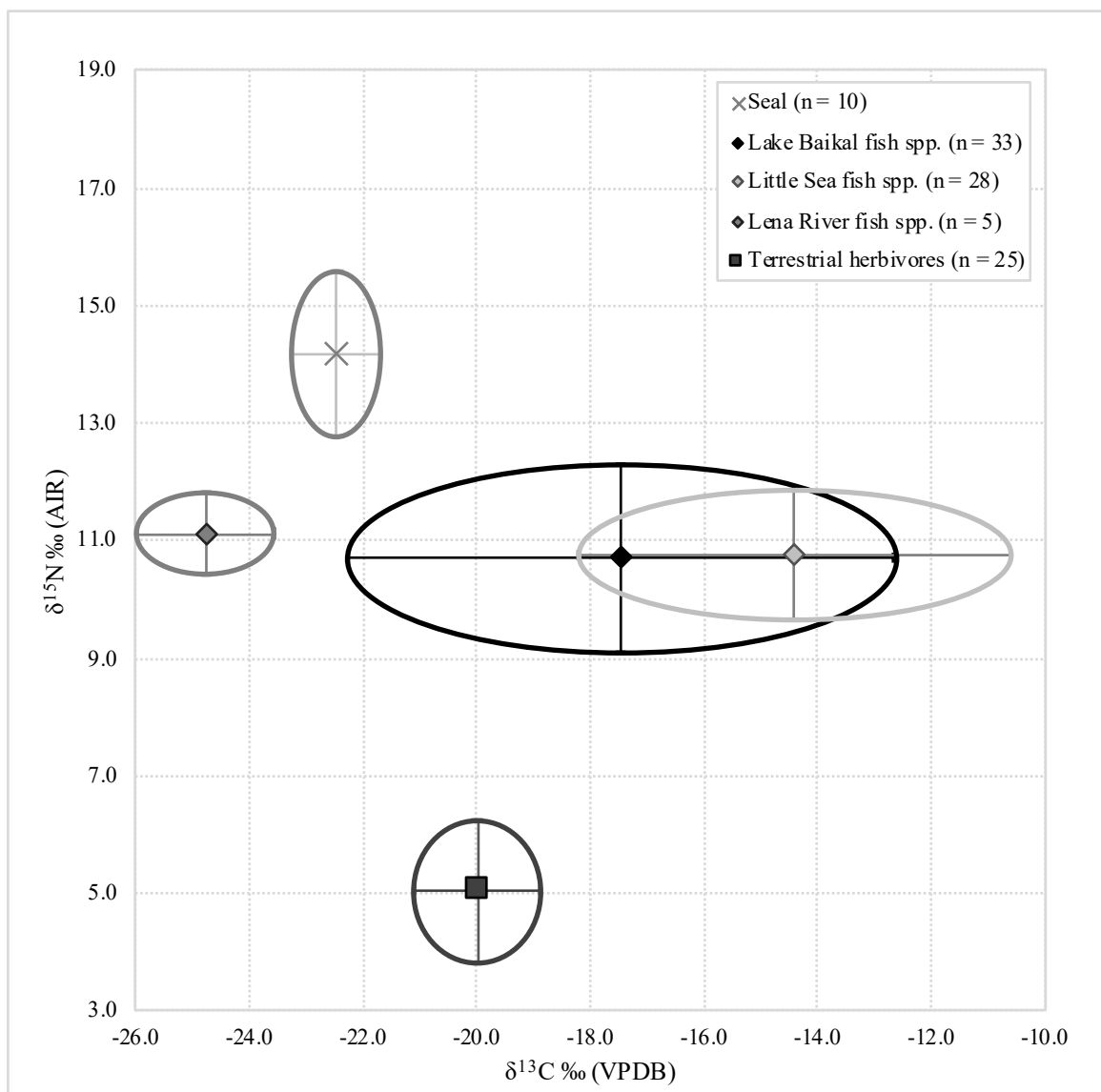


20 **Figure 4:** Ulan-Khada II and IV cemetery plans adapted by PH from Komarova and Sher,  
 21 (1992:181) Figure 35. The period assignments reflect the results of this study. The spatial  
 22 relationship between Ulan-Khada II and IV is not shown.

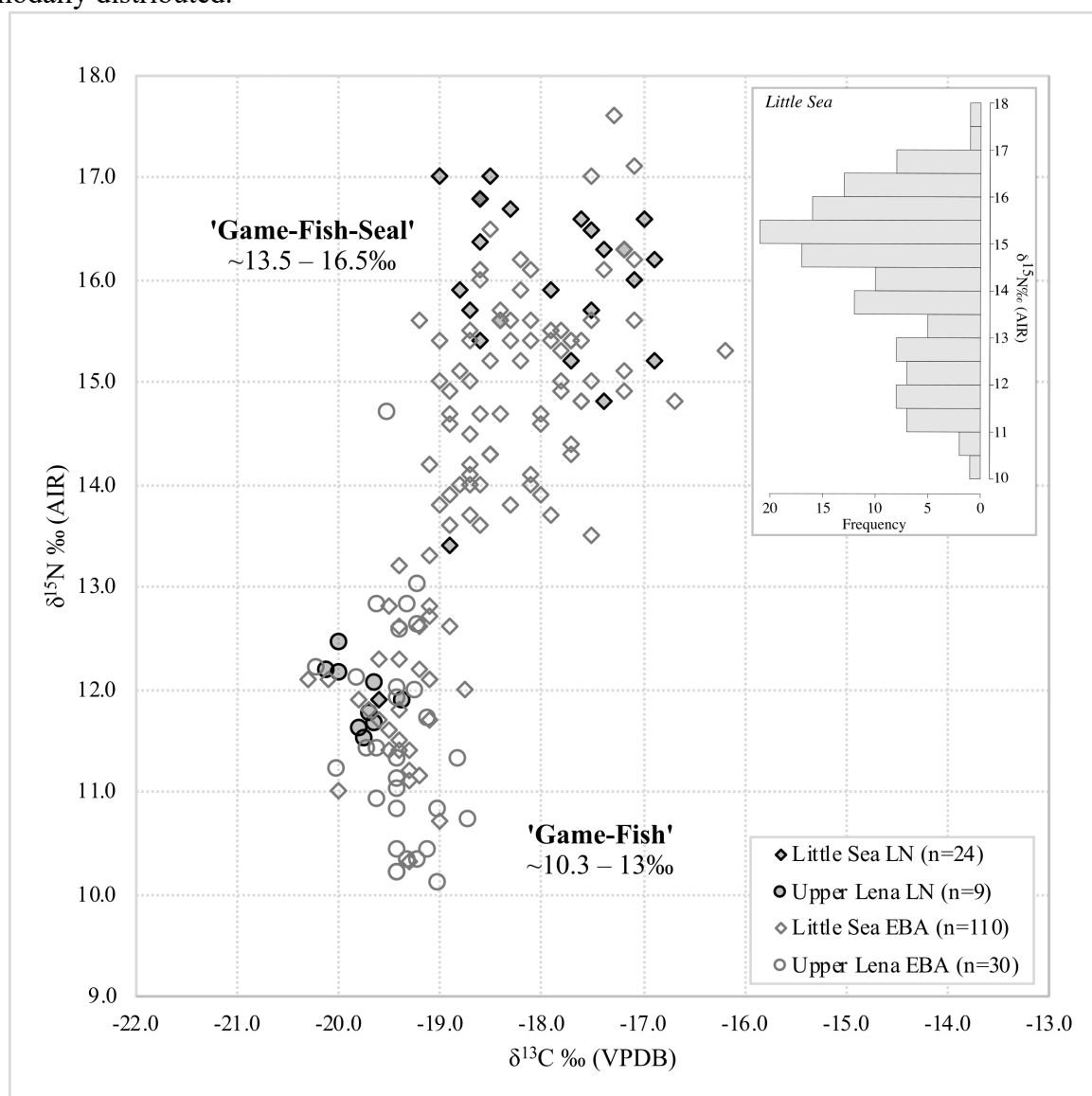


23  
24

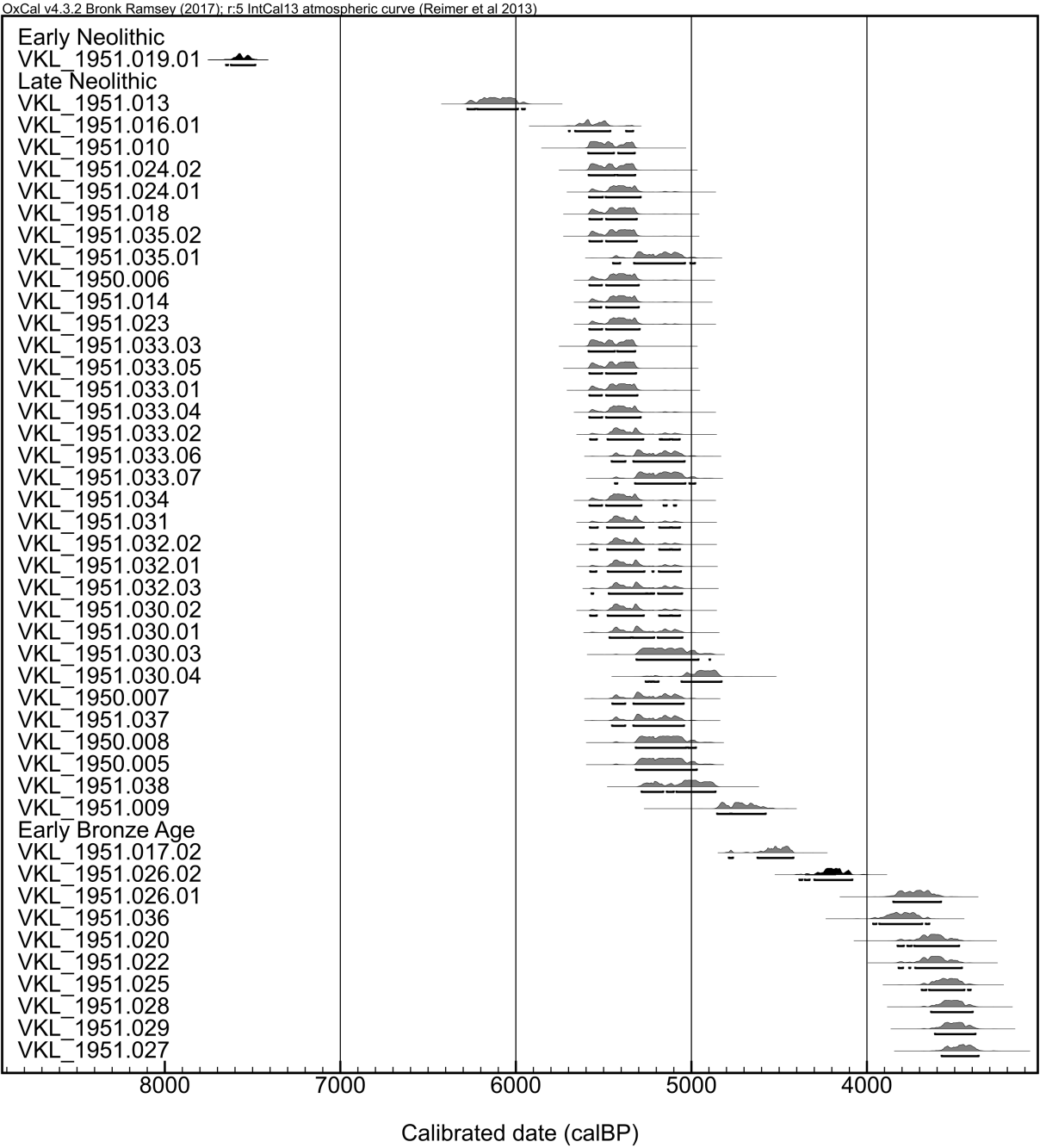
**Figure 5:** Lake Baikal, Little Sea, and Lena River aquatic and terrestrial faunal isotope ranges (mean  $\pm$  one standard deviation) from Katzenberg et al. (2012) and Weber et al. (2002). The fish values are modern and are adjusted for a fossil fuel effect. The terrestrial herbivore and seal values are from archaeological samples.



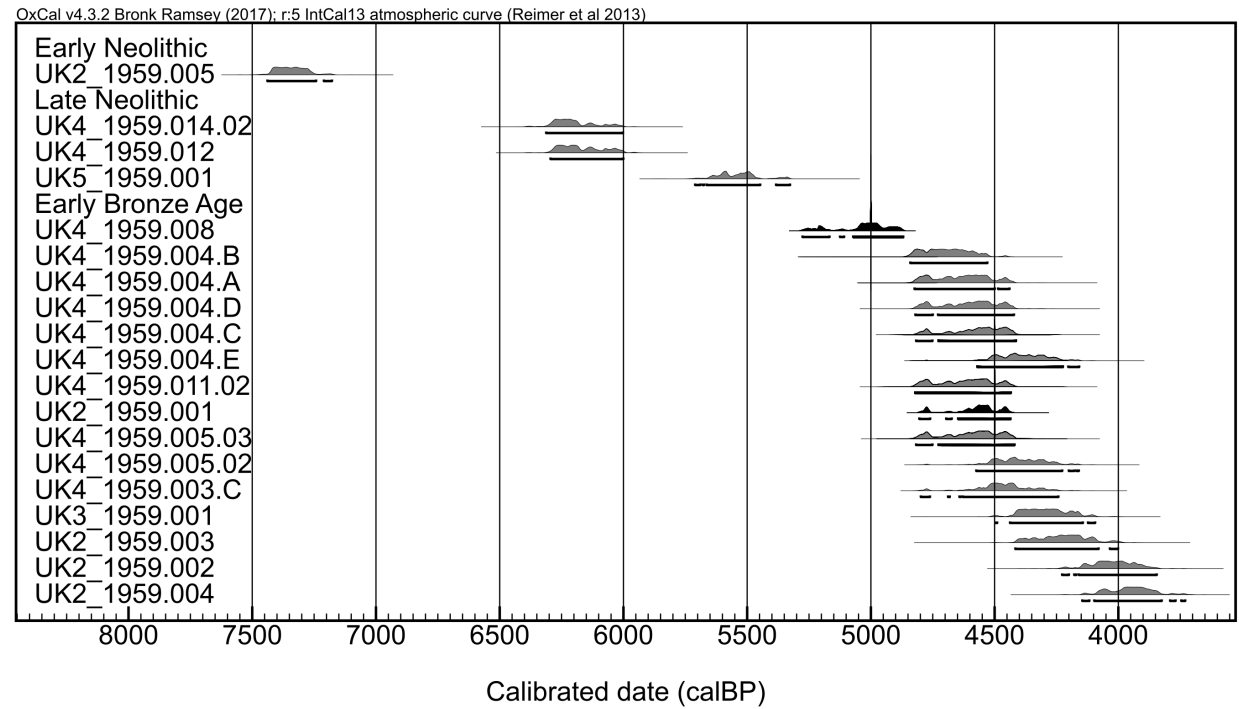
**Figure 6:** Game-Fish vs. Game-Fish-Seal dietary patterns in the Little Sea and Upper Lena during the LN and EBA currently in the BAP/BHAP database. The  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results for the Little Sea are bimodally distributed.



**Figure 7:** FRE-corrected (Table 2, Formula 2) radiocarbon dates from post-weaning age individuals from Verkhovensk (see Catalogue). Note that VKL\_1951.19.01 and VKL\_1951.026.02 are young children and their radiocarbon dates (in black) were not FRE-corrected and therefore appear older.

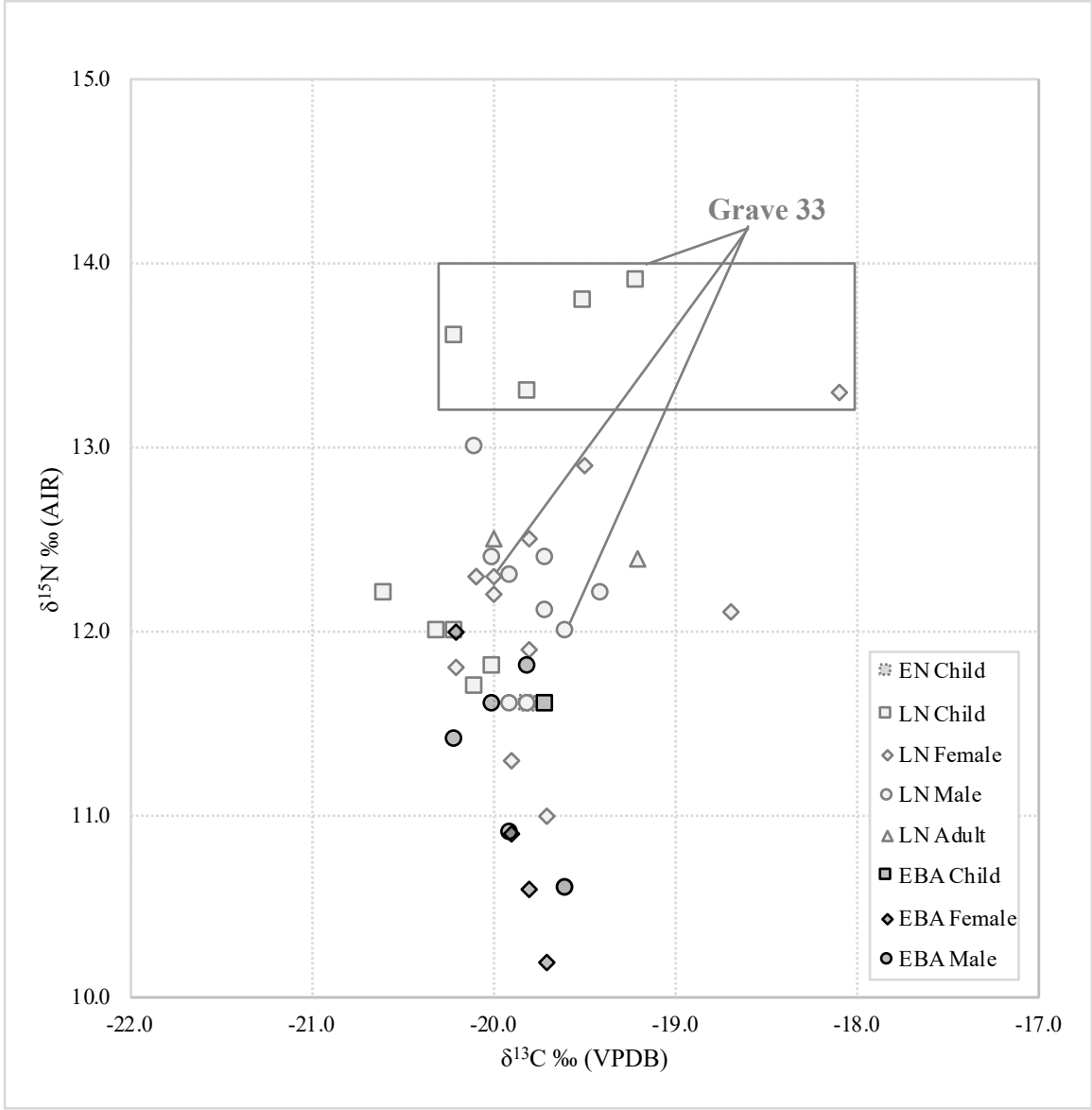


**Figure 8:** FRE corrected (Table 2, Formula 1) Radiocarbon results from post-weaning age individuals from Ulan-Khada (see Catalogue). Note that UK4\_1959.008 and UK2\_1959.001 are young children and their radiocarbon dates (in black) were not FRE-corrected and therefore appear older.

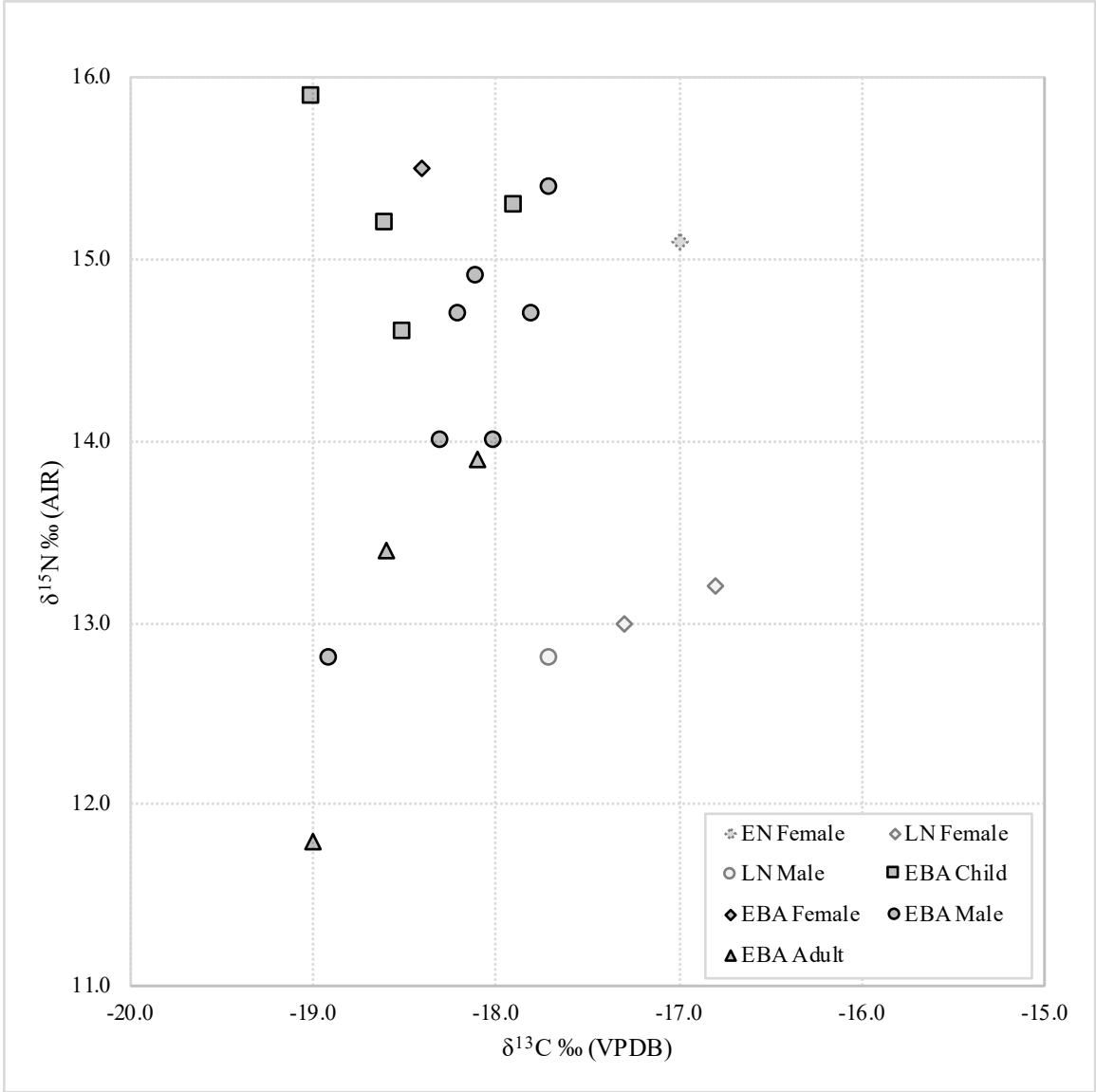




**Figure 9:** Isotopic values from Verkholensk differentiated by time period and sex. Individuals from LN Grave 33 are identified by the box and lines.

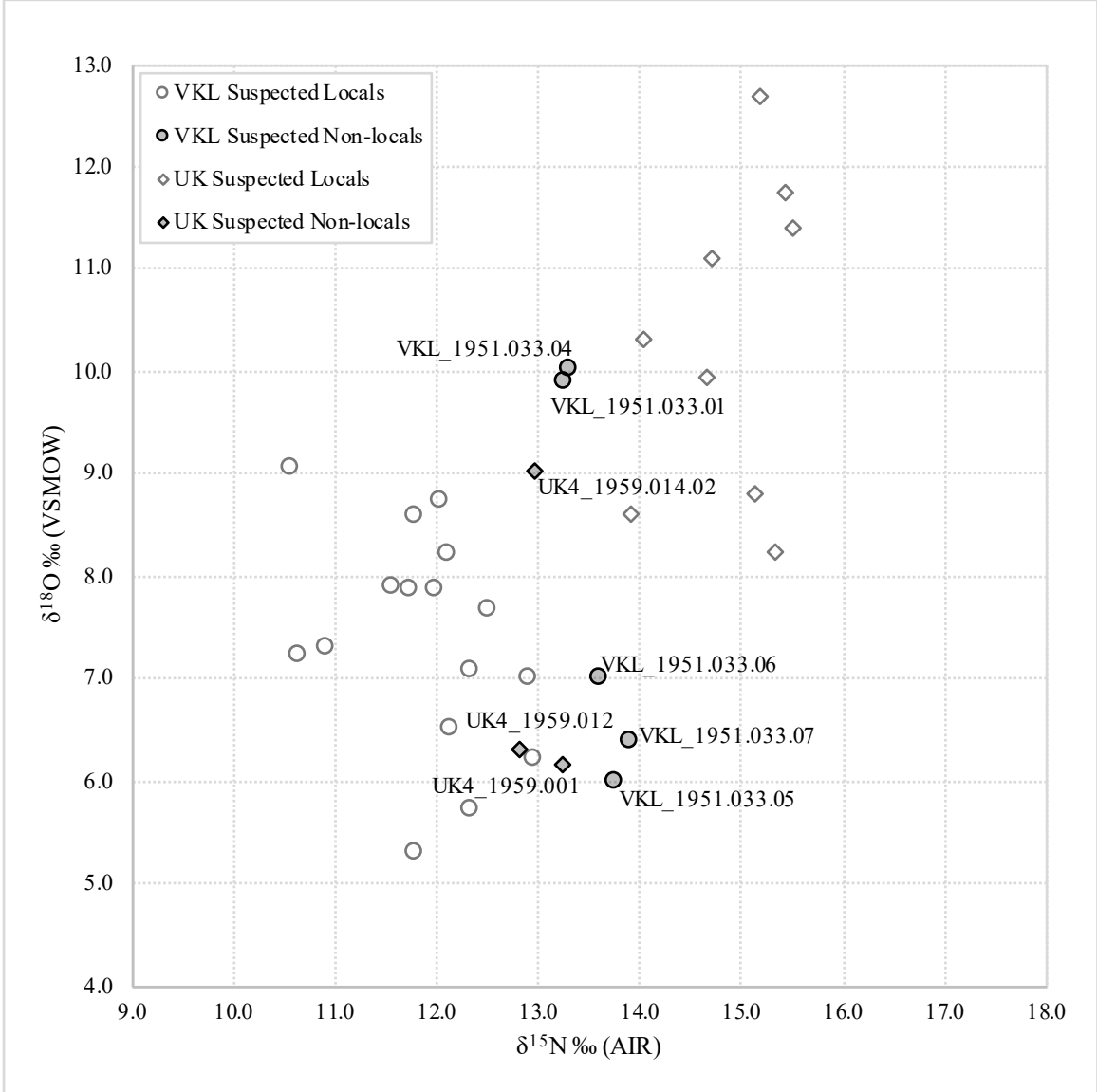


54 **Figure 10:** Isotopic values from Ulan-Khada differentiated by time period and sex.

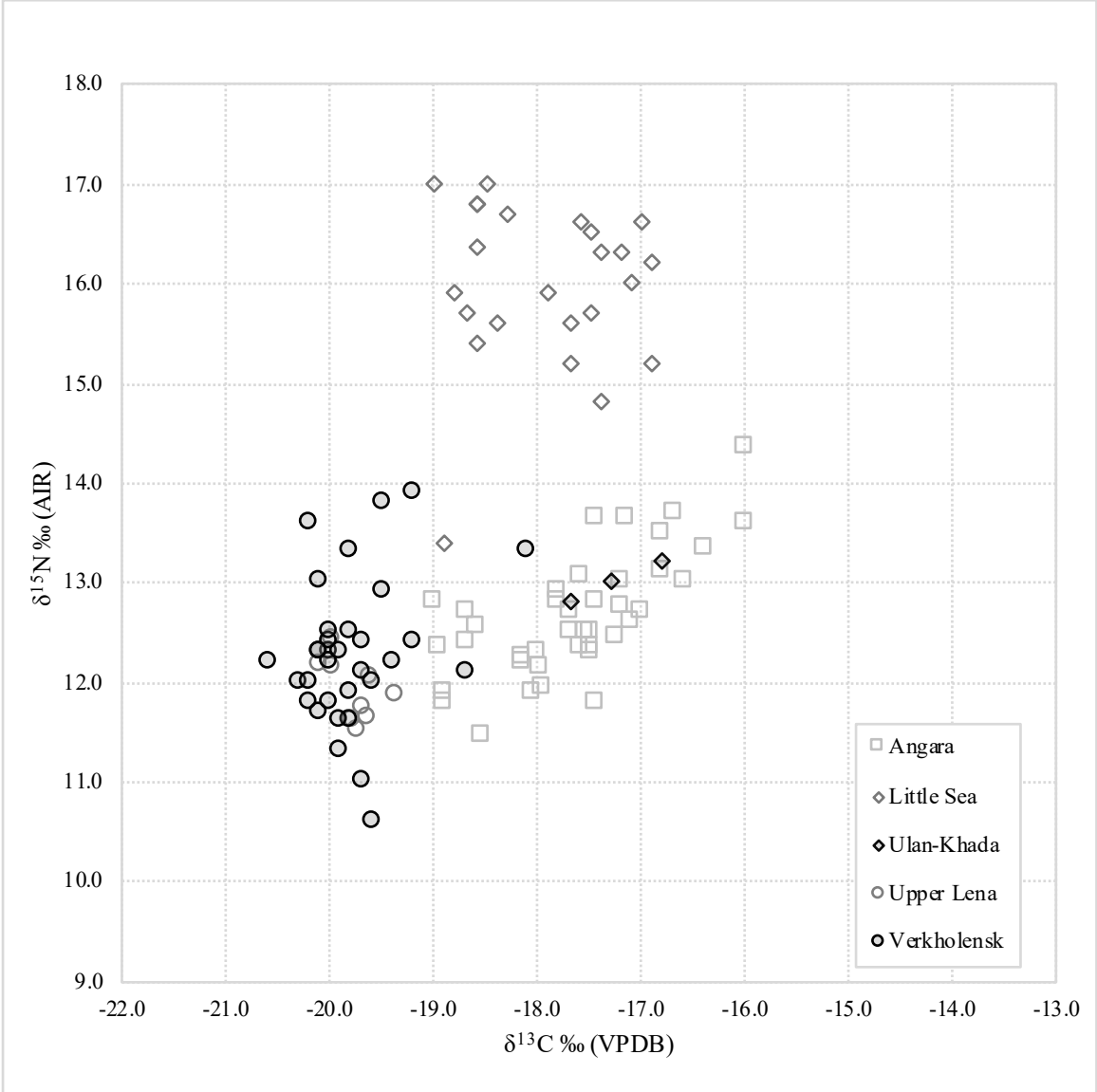


55  
56

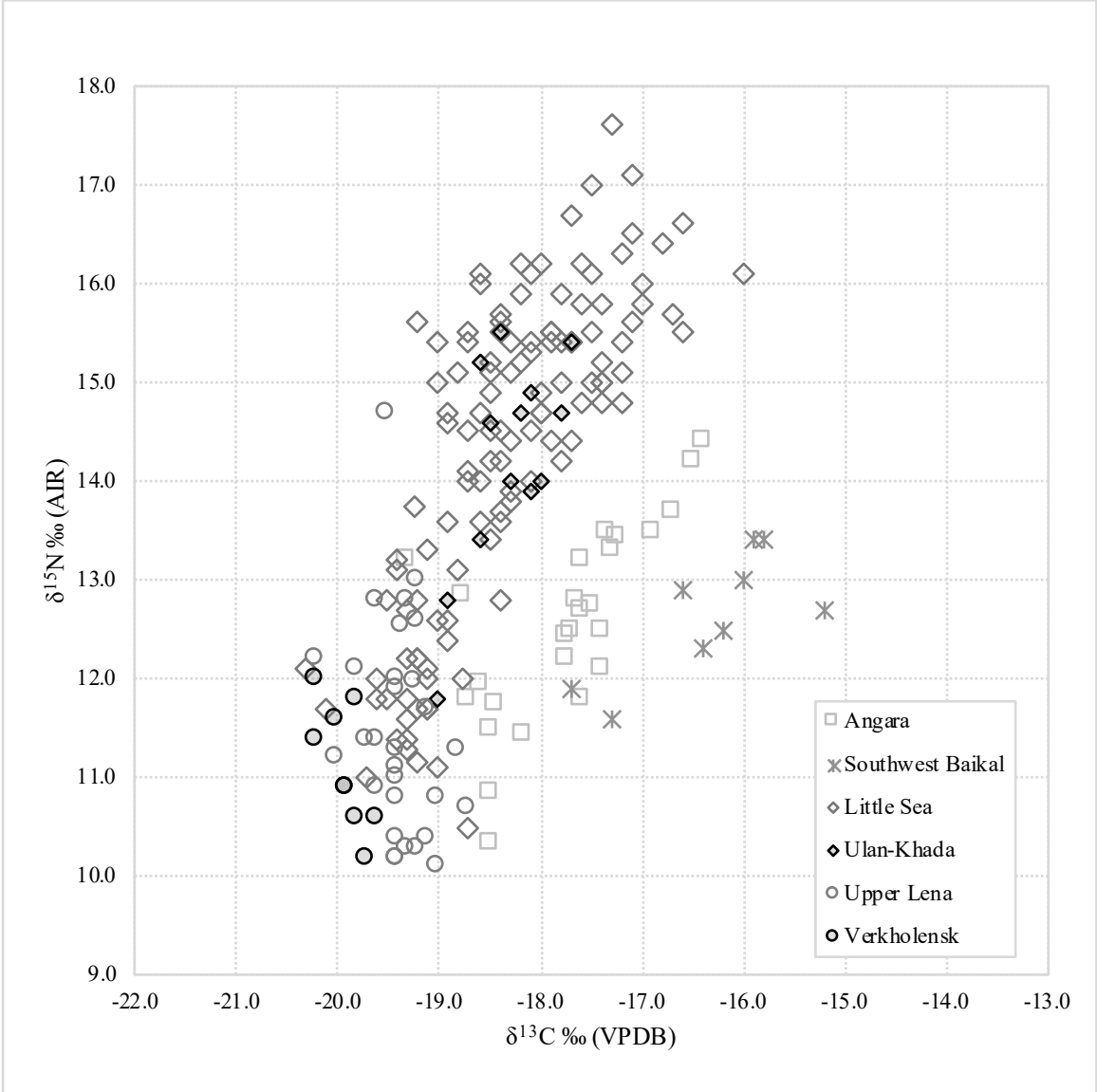
**Figure 11:** Bone collagen  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  (2017 analysis) and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  (2016 analysis) values for individuals interred at Verkholensk and Ulan-Khada. Individuals suspected of being non-local to the site based on  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  results are highlighted and their Master ID's provided. Those from Verkholensk are all from Grave 33 (see box on Figure 9).



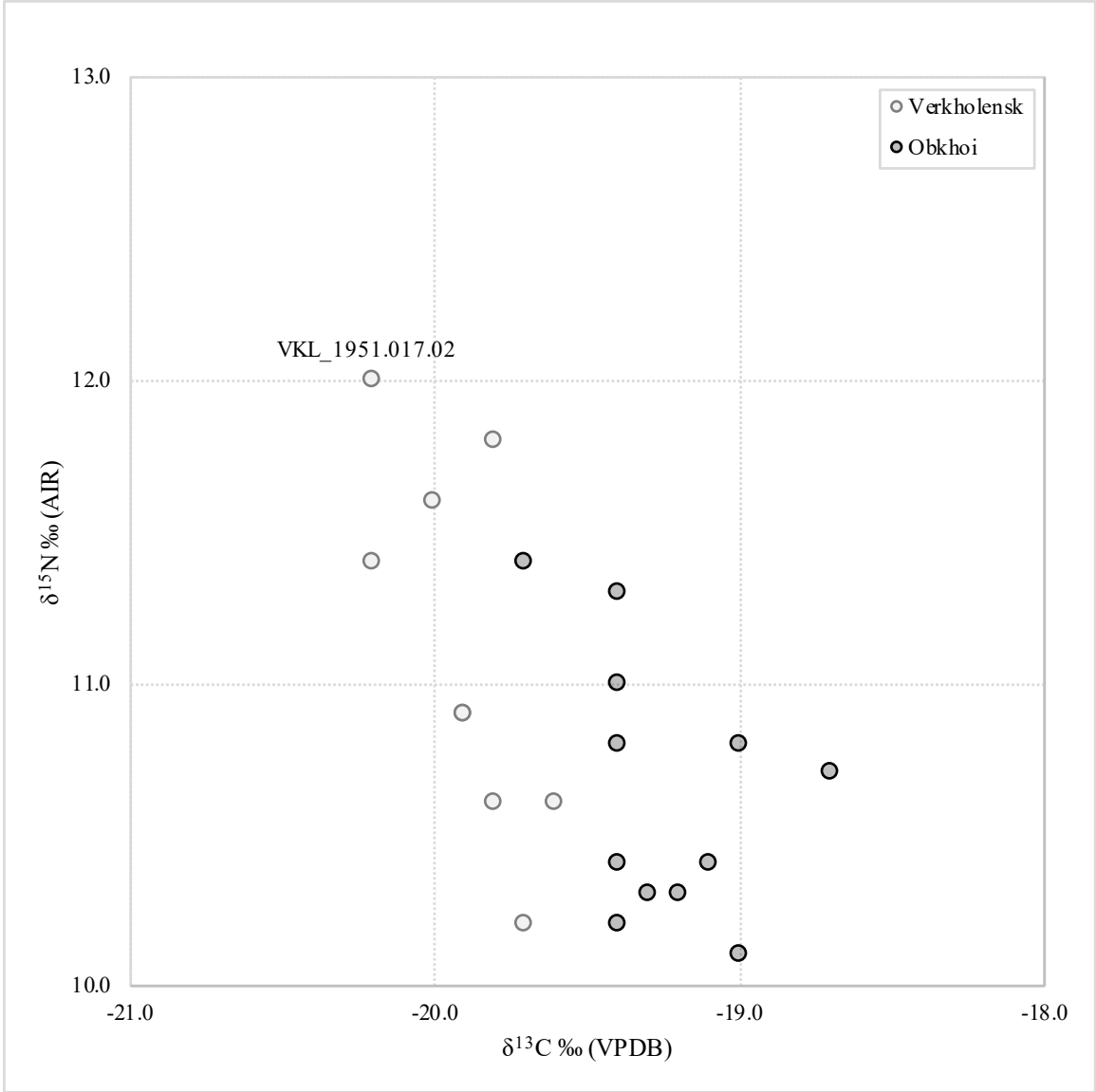
63 **Figure 12:** All post-weaning human LN isotopic data in the BHAP database compared to the data  
64 in this study.



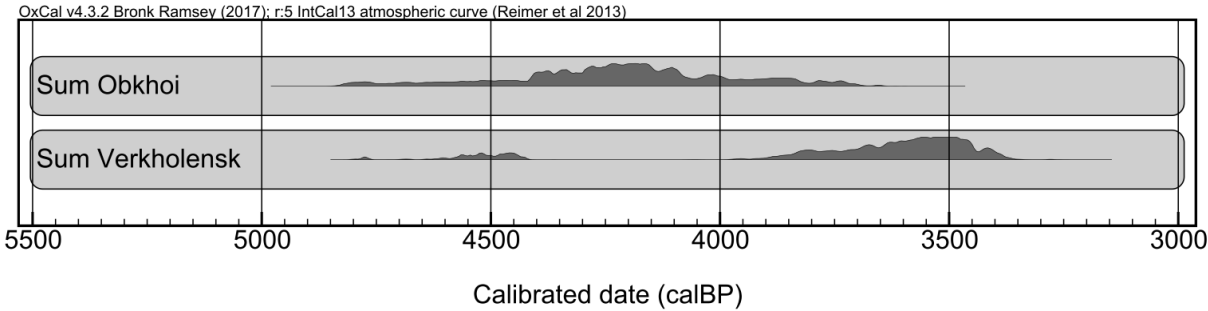
67 **Figure 13:** All post-weaning human EBA isotopic data in the BHAP database compared to the  
68 data in this study.



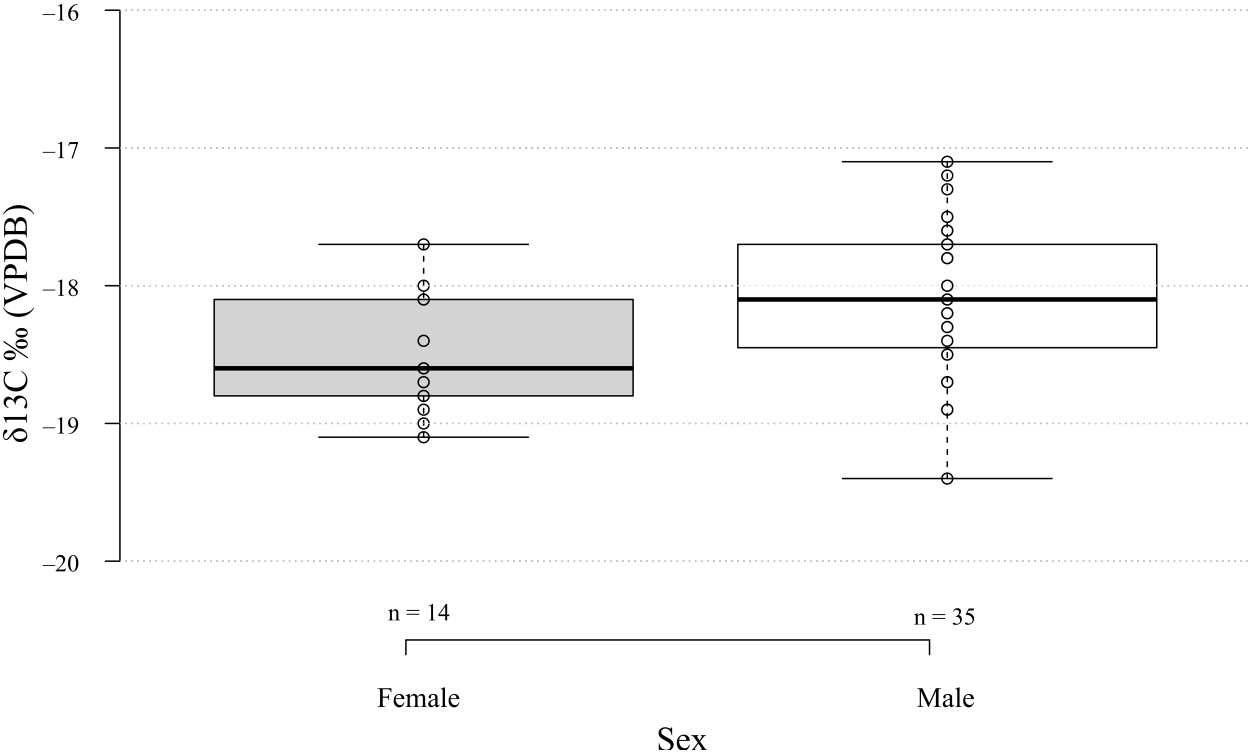
71 **Figure 14:** Human  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values for EBA Verkholensk and Obkhoi.



72  
73  
74 **Figure 15:** The summed FRE-corrected radiocarbon dates for EBA individuals included in the  
75 statistical analyses for Obkhoi and Verkholensk.



**Figure 16:** The difference in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  between all Little Sea EBA males and females with the GFS diet.



**Supplementary Material**

[Click here to download Supplementary Material: White et al. Supplementary Material.pdf](#)



**Declaration of interests**

☒ The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

☐The authors declare the following financial interests/personal relationships which may be considered as potential competing interests: